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Memoir of the Life and Episcopate

OF

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN, D.D.

BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND, 1841—1869;
BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, 1867—1878.

VOL. I

LONDON :
R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL.

Yours very faithfully,
G. A. Shealand

Richmond.
8. Dec. 1841

Memoir of the Life and Episcopate

OF

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN, D.D.

BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND, 1841-1869;
BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, 1867-1878.

BY THE

REV. H. W. TUCKER, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF "UNDER HIS BANNER," "MEMOIR OF BISHOP FEILD," ETC., ETC.

WITH TWO PORTRAITS, LITHOGRAPHS, AND MAPS.

"IMPLESTI MERITIS SOLIS UTRAMQUE DOMUM."

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOLUME I.

London:

WILLIAM WELLS GARDNER,

2, PATERNOSTER BUILDINGS.

1879.

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"Oh I have seen, nor hope perhaps in vain,
Ere life go down, to see such sights again:
A Veteran Warrior in the Christian field,
Who never saw the Sword he could not wield;
Grave without dulness, learned without pride,
Exact, yet not precise, though meek, keen-eyed.

* * * * *

Who, when occasion justified its use,
Had wit as bright as ready to produce:
Could fetch from records of an earlier age,
Or from Philosophy's enlightened page,
His rich materials, and regale your ear
With strains it was a privilege to hear:
Yet above all, his luxury supreme
And his chief glory was the Gospel Theme."

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TO HER,

WHO FOR FORTY YEARS

ENCOURAGED AND SHARED HER HUSBAND'S LABOURS,

THESE VOLUMES,

WRITTEN AT HER REQUEST, ARE RESPECTFULLY

Dedicated.

PREFACE.

"How should a great man's life be written?" "How for example should you wish your own life to be written if it ever were written?"

These two questions were put to the subject of this Biography not many months before his death. He paused for a minute, repeated the second question, and then said, "Tell first all my faults, and then tell whatever the grace of God has enabled me to do in spite of them."

I am quite conscious of having failed to comply with both of these conditions: indeed I have not attempted to do so. As to the first, I know that it is often objected to Biographies of Christian men that they portray a perfect character, and thus defeat one of the great objects of such memoirs: that instead of inciting readers to imitate a bright example, they discourage by descriptions of holiness which are felt at once to be ordinarily unattainable. It is said, and with truth, that Holy Scripture never conceals the faults or the sins of the greatest saints, whose examples are thereby more valuable, inasmuch as we recognise common infirmities of mankind: but I think that there is a flaw in this argument. Inspired records are not to be compared with other books:

the pages which reveal the sins and errors of Saints and Apostles are written by HIM, "unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid:" it is not the duty of a biographer to assume the place of a judge: censure and panegyric are alike to be avoided by him. If therefore any one wishes to know what were the sins and infirmities of him whose career is chronicled in these volumes, I have helped him in the search only so far that I suppress nothing: to "draw his frailties from their dread abode," I have considered to be no more my function than to insult his saintly memory by feeble words of praise. A long series of noble works, humbly commenced and patiently carried on for God's glory, I have indeed chronicled; they do not exhaust the list; and such as they are I leave them to win their way to the hearts of my readers. The great task which, however imperfectly, is now completed, was not sought by me; it was not undertaken willingly: there were others more qualified both by personal acquaintance and by literary ability—and to whom leisure is a less rare possession than it is to myself—who, as I had hoped and expected, would have given to the Church a Biography more worthy of the great subject than these pages can pretend to be: but to those whose wish in this matter commanded obedience it seemed otherwise, and when I was invited, and even urged, to accept a trust so onerous and so honourable, I had nothing to do but to comply.

I wish it to be understood that these pages pretend to be nothing more than a compilation. My duty has

been to study and carefully to analyse many hundreds of letters and documents which have been placed in my hands. I considered that I should discharge my task the better, just in proportion as I brought into greater prominence the very words and letters of my subject, and as illustrating these, the testimony of his friends and colleagues, and kept myself and my own opinions in the background. My aim therefore has been rather to arrange the materials at my disposal in due relation and proportion, than to write an original monologue.

If I had desired to paint an ideal picture, or to adjust my materials so as to fulfil my own conceptions, or to meet possibly my prejudices of the noble life which for many months has been my daily and nightly study, it would have been easy to have done so: but I can truly affirm that I have suppressed nothing, coloured nothing, distorted nothing.

I have been freely entrusted with all papers and letters in the possession of the family of the late bishop which could assist me in my work: indeed I regard myself as little more than the amanuensis of those at whose request I have written these volumes; but it is right to add that I have been perfectly unfettered in my labours, and for the use made of the materials at my disposal I alone am responsible.

I have to express my thanks and obligations to many persons who were connected with the late bishop by ties of friendship only: the amount of service rendered to me differs probably in each case, but to all alike I desire to offer an expression of gratitude for the ready help which I have received on all occasions, whether offered voluntarily

or extended in answer to my application. It is impossible to give the names of all whom, mentioned or unmentioned in these pages, I heartily thank; but especially I must record the benefit which these volumes have received from the assistance and co-operation of Bishop Abraham and Bishop Hobhouse; the Most Rev. the Primate of New Zealand; the Bishops of Quebec and Wellington; the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis; Sir W. Martin, late Chief Justice of New Zealand; the Rev. Edward Coleridge, Fellow of Eton College, the unfailing friend of Bishop Selwyn, and the unwearied supporter of the Colonial Church generally; the Rev. C. B. Dalton, the Rev. E. J. Edwards, and the Venerable Sir Lovelace Stamer, Bart., Archdeacon of Stoke.

My obligations to the admirable work on New Zealand by Mr. Swainson, late Attorney-General of that colony, are acknowledged elsewhere. I must further thank my friend J. E. Gorst, Esq., Q.C., M.P., for valuable advice and information, and for use freely made of his outspoken book *The Maori King*.

LONDON, *Lent*, 1879.

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GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION.

[1809—1831.]

THE memories of the servants of God are not less the treasures of the Church than are the active services which they were enabled to render on earth; and if the present age is rich, beyond all its predecessors, in biographies of those who have endured hardness in the mission field, and counted not their lives dear unto them, the fact must be accepted as only another proof of the revival of spiritual life and zealous devotion, of which the Anglican Communion has been the favoured exponent during the past forty years.

The accident that the great men, whose labours we reverence and whose memories we cherish, found the sphere, in which their gifts were more prominently called forth, amid the plains of India or the snows of North America, in the sparsely peopled wastes of Southern Africa, or in the blue waters of the far Pacific, only brings into greater prominence the fruits of the magnificent movement which having its origin in the Mother Church has made itself felt in the ends of the earth. Those noble

spirits who went out to distant lands, there to extend the frontiers of the Anglican Communion and to gather in the heathen to her fold, were the very men who had drunk most deeply of the spirit which has made the Church of England what she now is, and has revealed her almost incalculable capacities alike of growth and of influence: they were grudged as one by one they went forth from our struggling Church, which seemed to need their gifts only too sorely; but by that law of our spiritual life which provides that no venture of faith is allowed to be without its reward, and that what seems to be loss shall prove to be certain gain, the exile of these chivalrous souls has had the most distinct and potent influence on the Church which they have left; each act of self-sacrifice which has moved a man to sever himself from home and friends, and to bury himself in the wilderness, has raised, almost at a bound, the standard of ministerial obligation at home, and has inspired the whole heart of the Church which sent him forth.

It has been no book-making instinct but a true appreciation of the value of high example and sacred memories which has given us the biographies of the great pioneers of the Church in these last days; which has shown us how the Poet Heber and the scholarly and statesman-like Cotton laboured and died at their posts in Hindostan; which has permitted us to study the varied gifts of the ascetic Stewart, Bishop of Quebec; of the far-seeing Strachan, Bishop of Toronto; of the patient Feild, the apostle to the fishermen of Newfoundland; of Robert Gray, the dauntless confessor of Southern Africa; of John Armstrong, all too early, as we think, removed from his task of laying the foundations of the See of Grahamstown; of Charles Frederic Mackenzie, the simple-hearted martyr, whose body rests beside the waters of the African stream; of Addington Venables, who held on, in spite of bodily weakness and personal griefs, labouring while his day lasted, for his poor negro flock in the Bahamas; of

Patteson, who poured out his life for the people for whom he had already given up family and friends and all that this world can offer.

The Church which in the course of hardly more than one generation has sent forth sons such as these can be no barren Church: nor are these all: others there have been, in no degree inferior in spiritual gifts or in the use which they have made of them, whose labours have been none the less abundant, whose memories are only the less treasured because they have not found a chronicler. Such were Bishop Coleridge, the friend of Keble, the first Bishop of Barbados, and the first Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; Bishop Broughton, the first Bishop of Australia, whom no distance wearied, no difficulty daunted, and whose far-reaching counsel, with an instinct that may without exaggeration be called prophetic, traced out the boundaries of Sees and Provinces which to ordinary minds seemed but the mere creatures of an idle fancy: Bishop Milman, whose great intellect compels our admiration hardly more than the patience with which he exercised his many gifts on a people who promised small results to his efforts; Bishop Fulford, the calm and thoughtful Metropolitan, foremost in the work of teaching the unestablished Churches of the Colonies to govern themselves, in full reliance on the Divine life that glowed within them.

These memories point not only to the past: they are full of life and encouragement for the future. There must be a noble future for a Church whose store in Paradise is already so rich; and it is not the least of the rewards accorded to those who have aided in the propagation of the Faith in other lands, that amid the distractions and the controversies, the unfaithfulness and the timidity which harass us at home, we can look abroad, and in the Churches to whose foundation our own self-denial has contributed, can discover, not indeed the "pomp and circumstance" which counts for so much in the estimation

of the world, but the undoubted token of a living faith and of a vigorous apostolate.

The subject of the present memoir was, in the conditions of his ministerial life, unlike any other ecclesiastic of our communion. A parallel case has indeed been discovered by those who are fond of tracing analogies in the person of the Eastern prelate Innocent, who in the year 1868 was translated from the Bishopric of Kamschatka, where for many years he had been doing the work of an evangelist, to the See of Moscow; but in the English Church it has only been given to one man to lay as a wise master-builder, the foundations of a Christian Church in the uttermost part of the earth, to unite in the bonds of the one Faith two races as unlike to each other as it is possible to conceive, and after more than a quarter of a century of work in which he was the pioneer, guided by no precedents more recent than were furnished by the Apostles and the immediate successors of their missionary labours, to return to England and, succeeding to a diocese whose traditions stretch back into the past for a thousand years, to raise the dignity and the usefulness of a position thus venerable to a level never obtained before.

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum. But more than this; while personally the most humble of men, he became by no effort of his own the foremost personage in the whole Anglican Communion: he headed no party; he uttered no shibboleths; in spite of himself, by the mere force of his character and example he was the leading spirit in the Australasian Churches in whose development he had had so large a share: and in the Lambeth Conference of 1867, and in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, he was listened to with an attention which no other prelate could command: while in the United States amid the people of another land, citizens of the great Republic and members with ourselves of the same Communion, he exercised an influence which no one person ever before wielded or possibly ever coveted. Each branch

of the Church looked to him for advice, in full confidence that the counsel given, whatever it might be, would be biassed not a hair's breadth by any secondary consideration.

If it be asked what was the cause of this homage thus voluntarily accorded, it may be said in reply that subsidiary causes were many: no one could be insensible to the charm of that gracious presence, that bright incisive speech, that gentle manner, that playful wit: physical beauty and mental culture were his in highest measure, and these gifts will always make themselves felt; but beyond all these it was the knowledge of the man's true nobility of character, the unselfishness which was so much a part of himself as to seem to be without effort, the obedience to rule and order which was the guiding principle of his life, and the assurance that nothing mean or sordid would ever be connected with aught that he said or did, that compelled the not unwilling homage which men paid to him.

George Augustus Selwyn was born at Hampstead in 1809, the descendant of an ancient family whose members have made their mark in their several callings. Jasper Selwyn, admitted at Lincoln's Inn in the twenty-sixth year of Elizabeth, was twice elected Treasurer of the Inn, and his name and arms are in the west window of the chapel which was consecrated in 1623. Major-General Selwyn, the great-great-grandfather of the bishop, was Governor of Jamaica at the beginning of the last century: one of his three sons, Colonel John Selwyn, was *aide-de-camp* to Marlborough. The famous wit, George Selwyn the friend of Horace Walpole, was of the same family.

The grandfather of the future Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield was King's Counsel and Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn. He had two sons: George, who died soon after taking a degree at Cambridge; and William, the father of the subject of this biography. He was sent to Eton,

and was one of the eleven whom the school sent forth to uphold its reputation in the cricket-field: in 1793 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1797, as Senior Optime after having gained the first Chancellor's medal. The fellowships at St. John's being limited to the natives of particular counties, he had migrated in his second year to Trinity. He resigned without a contest his claim to a Fellowship in favour of others whose circumstances made the possession of that reward more necessary to them. He published in 1806 "Selwyn's *Nisi Prius*," with which his name was ever afterwards connected; in 1827 he was appointed King's Counsel, and in 1840 was Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn. Soon after the marriage of her present Majesty he was selected as "the Instructor of Prince Albert in the Constitution and Laws of his adopted country," and the tenth edition of his book on "Nisi Prius" was dedicated—

"ALBERTO PRINCIPI,
LEGUM ANGLIÆ STUDIOSO."

At the time of his death, in 1855, he was Senior Queen's Counsel.

If it be worth while to go back to early years there is no lack of testimony, that in the nursery the same disposition was apparent in George Augustus Selwyn which characterised his subsequent life, but, as may be expected, rough hewn and undisciplined. "My brother," writes one of his sisters, "was a strong self-willed child, and my mother had to use Solomon's remedy. The nurse was injudicious and complained, but the result proved the wisdom of the parent." And side by side with this resolute will there was the unselfishness "which made him energetic and ready to assist in any emergency which might arise in the nursery. If any case of distress was mentioned in his hearing, his pocket-money was at once devoted to its relief. I trembled under his eye if I took a little more at table than he thought (in his self-denying goodness) to be necessary."

Further testimony is borne by his sisters to "the influence which he had over our home life—he was truly the family friend and counsellor, ever ready to help in all difficulties. I have known him spend many hours of the few brief holidays he allowed himself in endeavouring to amuse his suffering mother, who laboured for many years under a most painful depression of spirits. He was in fact the only person who could rouse her from the morbid state of feeling produced by her malady, and though with the zeal and devotion which characterized her through life she willingly gave him up to his Master's service, yet she never recovered the loss of his affectionate attentions, and I found her in a state of insensibility kneeling at her evening prayers beneath his picture, under which she died: she never spoke again, but lingered for a few hours and expired on the first anniversary of his consecration, October 17, 1842. All the bishop's earlier letters with interesting accounts of his voyage were addressed to her, but few reached their destination till after her death; the news of this loss deeply affected him, and in one pathetic passage of a letter written just after receiving the intelligence he described himself as 'going heavily as one that mourneth for his mother.'"

The same contempt for softness and luxury, it may be said the same indifference to comfort, which enabled him in later years to endure so much hardness on board ship, in camp and on Melanesian coral-reefs, characterized him when a boy. The story is still current in the family, that when he came home from Eton one Easter-tide he wished to invite a friend to stay with him, the friend being none other than Mr. Gladstone. His mother said it was impossible, that "the spring cleaning was going on," and guests would be in the way. "George rushed up stairs and soon reappeared with a great mattress which he hurled down on the wet boards, saying, 'There now, where's the difficulty?'"

When he was seven years old—in 1816, he was sent

to a famous preparatory school at Ealing, which was kept by a Dr. Nicholas, whose pupils rarely fell below three hundred in number, and who had included in their ranks the brothers J. H. and F. W. Newman. Here he acquired two accomplishments, of which at least one is not generally affected by high-spirited lads of seven. He was a great dancer, and taught his sisters the Mazurka during the holidays, saying that "exercise was good:" he also acquired a knowledge, strange and incongruous as it seems, of the Racing Calendar! Some of his companions were the sons of gentlemen who owned race-horses, and they took a precocious interest in their fathers' tastes. George Selwyn thus got to know the names and qualities of famous horses, and although he never at any time cared for the sport, he used many years later to astonish his friends by his familiarity with the names and pedigrees of great performers on the Turf.

Childish precocity has no bearing on the character of maturer years, but these reminiscences, treasured by those who loved him well, are not out of place in a memoir such as the present aims at being: from the earliest years to its close there is an eminent consistency in the life which these pages record, and to suppress these stories would be to mar its unity. In the very letter from which they were extracted sisterly affection has written:—

"There was nothing that was pious, noble, self-denying and generous, that my brother did not exhibit in his daily life, and as years drew on he was more than ever constant in prayer, never ceasing in the service of his heavenly Master."

In due course he was sent to Eton, where his career was marked by proficiency both in scholarship and in athletic sports; nor was his reputation wanting for even higher things: the late Bishop Trower, who acted as his commissary at Lichfield in the year 1868, when he paid a hurried and farewell visit to New Zealand, used to relate that George Selwyn effectually put down the use of profane language

among the boys in his division of the school. The Selwyns did much for Eton, as Eton had done much for them. There were four brothers at Eton and Cambridge. William, the eldest, was Sixth Wrangler, Senior Classic, Craven Scholar, and Chancellor's Medallist, and died Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. The third, Thomas Kynaston, died young, but carried the fame of a Newcastle Scholar with him to Cambridge, where a Fellowship at Trinity was awaiting him when he died: to him as to his eldest brother had fallen the distinctions of Craven Scholar and Chancellor's Medallist. The fourth, who died in 1869, was for many years one of the Members for the University and became Lord Justice.[1] The future bishop graduated in 1831.[2]

[1] The following touching sonnet, suggested by the last hours of Lord Justice Selwyn, was written by Professor Selwyn, his eldest brother :—

THE NIGHT OF SORROW, AUGUST 10–11, A.D. 1869.

"O strange dark night! the weary watches through
I moved between my brothers, to and fro;
One deeply slumbering, worn with toil and woe,
And one who never sleeping, faintly drew
His failing breath; yet with firm heart and true
Confest his faith in Christ, the risen Life;
With smiles of comfort, cheering his sad wife,
And blessing all; our love no more could do;
But we could feel a gracious Presence nigh
Turning our night to day; and with the spring
Of morn we gathered round the sacred bed
And on the Bread of Life together fed;
The Bishop spake, 'O Death, where is thy sting?'
The Judge, 'O Grave, where is thy victory?'"

[2] He was not a reading man at the University, and for mathematics he had an actual distaste. A brother undergraduate, who survives him, and whose name appears in the first class of each Tripos in 1831, says that he positively hated the necessary preparation to secure a place, however low, in the Mathematical Tripos which would allow him to go in for the Classical Tripos; that he spoke of his degree as his jubilee, and used to score off on a diary which hung over his chimneypiece each day which marked the approach of the Examination. He came out with very little to spare, being low down among the Junior Optimes; when the class list, however, was read out, and he saw how low his position was, he went off with his

His scholarship seems to have been unusually exact even for an Eton boy in the days of Keate; and the following anecdote recorded in Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *History of Eton College* would testify as much to the boy's conscientious determination to render his author exactly as to his keen perception of his words:—

"He was translating to Dr. Keate Horace's account of the auctioneer at the barber's shop, *proprios purgantem leniter ungues*—'cleaning his own nails' (Ep. I. vii. 51). Keate corrected him—'cleaning his nails. Go on.' Again and again the boy said 'his *own* nails.' Keate scolded him; but he held out against the less emphatic 'his,' and argued the point thus: 'If you please, sir, Horace lays the stress on the word *proprios*, because most of the dandies made the barbers pare their nails; and when Philippus saw Mena paring his *own* nails, *vacuâ in umbrâ*—though nobody was engaging the barber's time—he thought him a man of some energy, and likely to become a good farmer.' Dr. Keate generously appreciated the criticism, and said, 'Well, there's something in that. Lay the stress, then, on *proprios*.'" (P. 367.)

The four brothers boarded in the same house with Mr. Gladstone, and took their full share in all the activities, physical and intellectual, of the famous school. George and Mr. Gladstone, with others who subsequently attained high distinction in the world, were among the contributors to the *Eton Miscellany*. In the *Eton College Chronicle* of June, 1878, a contributor under the well-known initials "C. J. A." writes:—

"The name of Selwyn has long been enrolled in the 'Eton Lists,' and long held in honour. The eldest brother of the late Bishop was the best sculler of his day at Eton, and the best scholar of his day at Cambridge. George, the

friend to the bathing-place, three miles distant. It was January, but they bathed daily. For a long time he was silent. At last he said, "Well, I've had many a licking at Eton, but I never felt so beaten as I do now." In due course he went into the Classical Tripos and came out Second Classic. Few Wranglers have turned their mathematical attainments to such use as this "Junior Optime" did his, as may be seen *infra* pp. 108, 109, 114, 259, 266, 283.

second brother, was one of the best oars in 'the Boats' at Eton. Charles Jasper, the youngest, was 'the Umpire of the Thames' for many years. In the sporting newspapers the Bishop of New Zealand used to be spoken of with respect, but always as 'the brother of the Umpire of the Thames.' In the spring of 1869, when the two brothers attended the Queen's Levee together and Charles was presented at Court on becoming Lord Justice, the Queen audibly said to one of the Princesses, 'He is a brother of the Bishop of Lichfield;' which George used afterwards humorously to quote against his brother as being more than a set-off for the language of the sporting newspapers. Thomas Kynaston, the third brother, figures in the 'List' as the second Newcastle Scholar. He died young."

Amid all the engrossing pleasures of Eton there appears the same unselfishness and the same spirit of "co-operation" (a word so often used by him) in George Selwyn which was so much the ruling principle of his after-life. The following story, taken like the preceding from the *Eton College Chronicle,* illustrates what is meant:—

"Our boats in those days were clumsy and the oars clumsier. In Selwyn's 'long-boat' there were seven oars not very good and one superlatively bad. The boys used to run "up town" as hard as they could to Bob Tolladay's, and seize upon one of the seven moderately bad ones, and the last-comer got the 'punt-pole.' Of course he was sulky all the way up to Surly, and the other seven abused him for not pulling his own weight. Every one was out of temper. So George Selwyn determined always to come last. The other fellows chaffed him, but he used to laugh, and at last characteristically said, 'It's worth my while taking that bad oar. I used to have to pull the weight of the sulky fellow who had it; now you are all in good humour.' This story really illustrates his whole after-life, He always took 'the labouring oar' in everything, and he 'greased the rowlocks' in every work."

The following letter from a contemporary who has since been known as a distinguished Cambridge Tutor shows that as at school, so in the intermediate and anomalous

position, when no longer a schoolboy and not yet a University man, he exercised the same influence for good among his elders :—

"In July of the summer of 1827 a 'Reading Party,' under the lead of Birkett, then a noted private tutor and fellow of St. John's (he might be called now, 'crammer'), assembled at Teignmouth, South Devon: who made up the number I really forget, and the rest signifies little: to all intents and purposes the party was William Selwyn, late Professor, and his brother George, then on his way to be Freshman, A. Paget and his brother George, now Regius Professor of Medicine, resident in Cambridge; and myself. The two Selwyns lodged in one house, and the Pagets with me in the adjoining one. If I remember right, we boarded together—all five at any rate dined in company and in general associated. The one chief bond of associated exertion was 'the boat,' a four-oar galley, in which we rowed usually after dinner, and by it made rather extensive explorations of the coast—one perhaps each week. The most notable one was that in which we visited Berry Pomeroy Castle, starting from our place about 4 A.M., coasting to Dartmouth—ascending the Dart to Totnes,—having a two or three mile walk to the Castle. At that place in a homely inn we dined, returned as we came as far as Dartmouth, where I think the weather changing, or wind having arisen, induced us to take the road back to Teignmouth. An amusing incident helped the recollection of the visit. The 'guide' at the Castle was an old dame, who manifestly had the story by heart, and George Selwyn used the discovery mischievously by interrupting the flow of her story; and she could only get through it by each time harking back to the beginning, unable to pick up the thread of her discourse. On the whole of this expedition we calculated on having done upwards of sixty miles within the twenty-four hours, reaching home about 2 or 3 A.M.

"Our rowing, far and near, was done without guide or help. Once, if not oftener, we had to be very thankful for safety. One evening on our return from the customary exercise, coming to the mouth of the river Teign, we found a heavy sea on the bar; we must needs get through, and

went at it. The passage was very narrow and the swell high; the boat, going high on the crest of one wave as it passed, swayed round, and but for a vigorous pull by the bow oar (George Selwyn) would have been taken on broadside by the next wave and capsized.

"This association, besides affording much enjoyable intercourse and leading to much useful information during the three months' work, led to sustained companionship and friendship. His calm decision and quiet firmness in conduct, speech, and action was always to be observed and produced indirectly, if not directly, good effect and wholesome influence. I believe I owe to him some reformation in the tone and tenor of my conversation. Though of a different and not neighbouring college, I used to see not a little of him; and frequently sought him without finding, though at the cost of ascending five flights of steps; for he occupied the topmost set in the south end of the 'new building' of St. John's. In his preparation for college life he was the same as in it—steady and successful, active, agreeable and approved.

"I was not happy enough ever to see the bishop again after his first appointment, but my recollection of him is unimpaired in strength and satisfaction."

The careers of the brothers were, as has been detailed above, as distinguished at Cambridge as they had been at Eton, and year after year from 1826 to 1834 the proud parents used to go up to Cambridge and partake in their sons' triumphs.

Success on the river and in athletics generally was not purchased at the cost of defeat in the Senate House: when the challenge sent by Oxford led to the first of the now long series of University races, George Selwyn was among those chosen to contend for the fame of Cambridge: it would have been impossible to pass him by. He seems to have formed a little society of athletes, who bathed every day, whatever the weather or state of the river, and who did many wonderful feats. In company with Bishop Tyrrell, with whom nearly a quarter of a century later he shared some more perilous expeditions in the

Pacific, he walked to London on one occasion in thirteen hours without stopping. To the last he was a great advocate of out-door exercise, and in a characteristic letter which appeared in Dr. De Morgan's book on *University Oarsmen* he wrote in June 1872:—

"I was in the race of 1829. The great benefit of our rowing was that we were by rule, if not by inclination, habitually temperate; and I suppose all medical men will agree that little danger can arise from strong exercise in youth if the body is always kept in a fit state. Active exercise, combined with strict diet and regular habits, had, I think, a most beneficial effect upon the constitution, and certainly enabled Bishop Tyrrell and myself on horseback and foot in Australia and New Zealand to make very long journeys without inconvenience. My advice to all young men is in two sentences—'Be temperate in all things' and '*Incumbite remis.*'"

Towards the close of his undergraduate days he discovered on coming home at the end of term that his father was without a carriage and horses. On inquiring the reason he found that four sons at Eton and Cambridge were a heavy drain, and that necessary retrenchment had found expression in the discontinuance of the luxuries in question. He then declared that he would get his own living, and never burden his parents; and his high position in the Tripos, followed at a later period by a Fellowship at St. John's, enabled him to put his resolution into practice.

The intermediate time which occurs between taking the B.A. degree and commencing serious work was in the case of Mr. Selwyn of brief duration, but while it lasted it was spent in foreign travel. Probably no one would blame a young man of twenty-two, fresh from the successful labours of the University, if he devoted some time to the recreation and teaching which are to be found in continental ramblings. In after life the bishop looked on this as a perilous time: it had been probably no wasted time to him; but there was no settled προαίρεσις and purpose of mind

about it, and mere enjoyment without such an object he always deprecated, although no man more keenly enjoyed "nature and human nature" than he did when he came upon them in the way of duty.

How vivid was the remembrance of the temptations which this period had brought to himself was shown by the anxiety which he felt when his elder son arrived at a similar stage in his career. One who was often by his side and in his counsels in New Zealand writes:—

"We were in a dinghey making for a large ship bound for England, in which he was thinking of sending his wife home to look after his elder son who was just going to take his B.A. degree. I was regretting that he did not wait two years and then go home himself with Mrs. Selwyn and bring his son back with them to New Zealand: 'No' he said; 'I remember the wasted time I spent after leaving Cambridge, having no definite plan of life and fancying myself free to please myself; so I wish the boy's mother or myself to be on the spot to direct his steps at that important epoch of life.'"

To his younger son, soon after he commenced residence at Cambridge, he wrote words of counsel which have a wider range, and are capable of a more extended application:—

"I remember my first going to Cambridge and how unpleasant it seemed after Eton; but after a while the absence of the many distractions of Eton rather recommended the place as one where lost time might in some measure be made up. And yet, in spite of many resolutions, I lost much time there also. I see in every letter that you have the same disposition as my own, a '*strenua inertia*,' active, but not pressing towards a point: never actually idle, and yet never really working to an end; and yet Christian life in all its varieties is nothing but pressing towards a mark; and *that* mark must be a distant one; not a boat-race to-day, or a drill to-morrow, or a party the next day, but a fixed and steady sight of a distant prize, to be won only by long and steady perseverance in well doing."

CHAPTER II.

ETON.

[1831—1841.]

In May 1831, only four months after taking his degree, the continental ramblings came to an end, and more serious work began. Mr. Selwyn returned to Eton, which, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, "he loved with a love passing the love of Etonians," and acted as private tutor to the present Earl of Powis. He was one of many young graduates who held similar appointments: the mere fact of their being chosen for the work which they had to do proves them to have been men of more than common attainments; some of them had attained higher distinction at the University than himself, and yet, while he never assumed the leadership in anything, all his companions naturally regarded him as their leader, whether in study or in recreation; and not the least notable sign of the honour in which he was held, and of the conviction, almost prophetic, that there was a career before him which would one day lend a value to the records of each period of his life, is afforded by the fact that his sayings and doings were chronicled by more than one of his contemporaries, and that these pages are indebted to the carefully-preserved jottings of a friend who nearly half a century ago acted towards him the part of a Boswell.

From these records, and from the testimonies of his friends who survive, it is clear that he was, as one describes

him, "the leading spirit of a happy circle." In all bodily exercises he was *facile princeps:* he delighted in the river, and was in great request as the "Charon" of ladies: he was wont to take prodigious walks, finding his way across country by the help of a pocket compass; and often when taking the daily constitutional he would run across a ploughed field "to improve his wind." On one occasion being the subject of some friendly banter because he had not kept a good place in the hunting-field, he privately hired horses and literally rode steeplechases, making his way in a straight line across country to some church or other given landmark, and allowing nothing to divert him; and this skill, so painfully acquired, did him good service, when, as in New Zealand, he had to travel much on horseback. It was to his perseverance in this respect that he owed the great κῦδος, which he acquired at Wellington, by riding a horse which a chief had lent to him. As he went along the beach he was hailed by every Maori, "*Tena korua ko*" ("There you go, you and buck-jumper!"); and on asking the reason of the unwonted salutation, he was told that he was riding the worst buck-jumper in the country.

Another instance of his skill, valueless in itself, but which witnesses to his indomitable patience, was the way in which he broke a vicious horse called by the Maoris *Rona,* or the Man in the Moon. For two long hours he tried in vain to put the pack-saddle on his back. At last, covering the horse's eyes with his pocket-handkerchief and holding up one fore leg with one hand he put the pack-saddle on with the other. His patience in all things, small or great, was indomitable. When Sir George Grey brought some zebras into the country and vain attempts were made to ride them, a native chief asked if the Bishop had ever tried to break them in. On being told that it was impossible to do so, he replied, "How so? He has broken us in and tamed the Maori heart, why not the zebra?"

As a swimmer, too, he accomplished feats which had never

been performed before, and in all his pleasures there was a degree of earnestness and of order which made them serious matters. He was not content with taking a header over a bush, which to this day is known as "Selwyn's bush" with a perfectly horizontal body (for his maxim was "fancy yourself a dart") or with diving from Upper Hope to Middle Hope, but he was the President of a Society which was called "The Psychrolutic Club." The less ambitious members who bathed only under conditions that were agreeable, called themselves Philolutes, but those who had bathed five days in every week for a whole year were called "Psychrolutes," and were entitled to take the degree Φ Ψ, which was conferred on them by the President *in* the Thames. His enthusiastic love of the river led him to accommodate Shakespeare to say

"Men's evil manners live in brass, their virtues we drink in water."

To his care it is due that boating was no longer made a forbidden pastime to the Eton boys, and that at the same time that it was legitimatized it was robbed of its dangers. No rules are likely to restrain some hundreds of boys who live on the banks of a river from the pleasures of rowing. The interdicted amusement had been so commonly indulged in that the authorities could only connive at the irregularity, but the boys could not all swim and fatal accidents were of frequent occurrence. The influence of Mr. Selwyn, supported by the drawing-master, Mr. W. Evans, obtained the establishment of the "swimming system," by which no boy was allowed to boat until he had "passed" in swimming. Watermen were stationed in punts at the weir and the bathing-places who were ready with help in case of accident. These watermen were very much changed by coming under Mr. Selwyn's moral influence. He was conscious of his popularity with them, and he turned it, like his other gifts and opportunities, to the best account.

But this time was every day more and more becoming the great seed-time of his ministerial equipment. One of

his friends says of him that his whole school and college career had made him loved and respected, had been full of excellence, and everything that was cheerful and manly, but that a man with less moral courage would probably have been led to be idle; there was no idleness, but much strenuous industry now; another of his friends records that "he seemed to be always preparing himself for some unrevealed future of usefulness." The early bathe was followed by an hour's study of Hebrew with some of his fellow private tutors. He read Hebrew and Italian with a Jew named Bolaffey who resided in Eton, and he arranged with his friends "the Eton cycle," according to which they studied certain things in turn and for a fixed portion of each year. The comparative leisure before ordination was devoted to a most careful study and analysis of such works as Pearson, Hooker, Barrow, and Butler. The two first he knew almost by heart, and he made a rule of reading Hooker through during the annual Christmas vacation which he spent with his pupil. His mother had thoroughly imbued him with the language and the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, and the wonderful power which he had of applying Scripture was noticeable in every sermon which he preached. About this time he wrote to one of his fellow-students: "When I was at home before Easter I hit upon a most agreeable way of reading the Scriptures with my mother; she took the English and I translated to her out of the Hebrew (without reading), and she corrected me, and supplied words when I did not know them. This plan is both quick and sociable, and pleased her by showing her the accuracy of the received version. At home, the great problem is to be co-operative without losing too much time. It is difficult, but I think it may be solved, at least where the rest of the family have any pursuits and feelings in common with your own. My sister is a Hebrew scholar, but she has grammaticized so exclusively that she can hardly read and knows very few words."

In 1833, on Trinity Sunday, June 9, he was ordained

Deacon on his fellowship with letters dimissory from the Bishop of Ely to the Bishop of Carlisle (Percy), who held his ordination in St. George's, Hanover-square. Such was the fashion in which "things were done" half a century ago. As a labour of love, he took the curacy of Boveney, continuing his work as private tutor, and encouraging others to join him in theological studies. He took an active share in the work of Sunday-schools, and persuaded his friends to form themselves into a staff of district visitors, and to teach a certain number of hours of each week in the day-schools at Eton. He became secretary of the book club, and acted as auctioneer at the periodical sale of the books to the members; his remarks on each book as he offered it showed that he had thoroughly studied it, and knew its strong and weak points. On Trinity Sunday, 1834, he was ordained priest, as in the previous year, by Bishop Percy, in St. George's, Hanover-square. In the summer school-time of this year, his brother, Thomas Kynaston, died; Mr. Charles Selwyn, the youngest brother, was the only relative who was with him; they had come out of Wales and reached Chester, and there he had died. Letters had miscarried, and George, in going down to the funeral, passed on Hounslow Heath Mr. Charles Selwyn, who had just come from his brother's grave in Chester Cathedral. On the Sunday when he was lying dead, Mr. William Selwyn had preached a sermon written by George on the text "Thy brother shall rise again," and, in commemoration of this circumstance, *ἀναστήσεται* is carved at the bottom of the epitaph in Trinity College Chapel at Cambridge.

It needed not this sorrow, which was a very heavy one, to draw out his sympathy with others, for it is recorded by one who still survives that "if there were any misunderstanding among friends, he would not rest until they were reconciled; if pecuniary difficulty fell upon any one, he would make every endeavour to extricate him: if his friends were ill, he was their nurse and companion, if they

lost relations, or fell under any great sorrow, he was with them at any hour to console and uphold them. He was the friend, the adviser, the comforter, of all who would admit him to their confidence." (*Guardian* newspaper, April 24, 1878.) And these words were not lightly written: they were but the record of what had been the writer's own experience. In 1835 he had lost a very near relative who was drowned at Maidenhead weir. The parents were far away and were unable to come to Eton, but Selwyn took all arrangements on himself, comforting the living and caring for the dead. How difficult it is to say all of comfort and sympathy that we would wish to say at such times, every one has experienced who has made the effort; but probably the cause of such inability has never been more truly detected and exposed than in the following extract from a letter which he wrote to the sorrowing family.

"All our hearts require to be softened, and the most distressing evidence of their hardness is the imperfect sympathy which they display for the sorrow of others."

When all was over and his mourning friend was expressing to him his thanks he said "Nollem accidisset tempus in quo scires quanto te faciam," and he added that he had always thought that Cicero had in this passage beautifully expressed what one ought to feel on such occasions. There was yet another act to be performed, which testified both to his kindness of heart and to his unsuspected accomplishments. He went for several days to the spot, consecrated to the bereaved family by so many mournful memories, and at length he produced an artistic water-colour drawing of the fatal scene; until the occasion had called forth his powers, none of his friends knew that he was a painter; but in truth he was a born artist, and to anticipate events somewhat, it may be added that his earlier letters from New Zealand and Melanesia were enriched with very clever pen-and-ink drawings which he made for the enjoyment of his father, after whose death he

abstained from sketching, lest it should prove a snare to him and engross too much of his time.

At the Advent Ember-tide of 1835 the ordination of a friend led to the following letter, a remarkable commentary on ministerial duty, coming as it did from one who had only been himself a few months in Holy Orders.

To the Rev. C. B. Dalton.

Powis Castle, Welshpool,
Dec. 24th, 1835.

* * * * * *

"Accept my most sincere and Christian congratulations on your admission into the ministry. It is the peculiar privilege of the young men of the present day to have their eyes opened to the real situation of the Church. It is the greatest folly to undertake the ministerial duties in the present time with the hope of temporal advantage. Of all professions, this will in future be the most laborious and the least lucrative. Yet still there are labourers enough; and this is the great ground of hope that the destruction of the Establishment is not yet at hand. So long as the Universities continue to send out annually hundreds of men of sound principles and well-directed zeal, of the best of whom at least one half enrol themselves as defenders of that which we believe to be the true Faith, we need not fear what man can do to us. The real danger of the Church *was* from within; but every year will reduce the number of those who endanger their own cause by their supineness. We ought to enter into a compact with one another to correct all those natural dispositions which stand in the way of the effective discharge of our duties; to admonish, and suggest whenever it may seem necessary, that so the mind of every one in our circle of acquaintance may be endued, not with its own simple strength, but with the aggregate steadfastness of many minds, all alike invigorated by the same power from above. We have peculiar advantages at Eton, as you justly observe. I have scarcely made a single acquaintance there from whom I have not derived some advantage. And now that more of our number have taken Orders, I think that our system of mutual assistance

may be made even more effective. You will understand by one instance, what I think may be extended to a general practice. Your communication made to me with C—— on a passage in my Sermon is a most appropriate illustration of this. Whenever a shadow of a doubt occurs as to the truth or propriety of any action, sentiment, or mode of expression, let the objection be stated and freely discussed. It can always be done in a Christian spirit, if we establish one peremptory law (which can always be maintained by clergymen, as they are not subject to the absurd jurisdiction of the law of honour), viz., never to take offence. I have witnessed the want of this, in my own parish of ——, which is convulsed by the discord of two rival curates.

"We must endeavour to retain C—— in some way. I very much regret the failure of my attempt with L—— D——. It would have been a great delight to me to have had him in the same house, instead of a stranger. I dread the return to long dinners, and wine-drinking, and sitting after dinner, which I have discontinued so long that I have lost all inclination to resume them. C——'s habits would have been the same as my own; but possibly I shall be obliged to conform in many points to the wishes of the new-comer.

"I have certain misgivings about the Sunday-school, which are allayed solely by confidence in G——. I fear that at present He is the sole stay of the institution; which, in its infancy, must of course be in a precarious state. Your nursling (a Windsor Infants' School) I think is safe. When I was at home for a day on December 9, I visited the Infants' School, and was further confirmed in the favourable opinion which I had formed from seeing similar establishments.

"The infusion of new associates into our Eton party will require some judgment. P—— by all accounts will be a valuable coadjutor. Of the Cambridge man who is coming to Mrs. V——'s I know nothing. If you and C—— will undertake to bring out P—— I will do my best to associate the Cantab. But I should particularly wish that no reference should at any time be made to me, as in any way the Coryphæus of the party, because when circumstances prevent the influence of our actual

head from being much felt, the only way to preserve unity is to discountenance the assumption of any nominal precedency. The origin of the dispute between our two curates was the old question, which should be the greater, and there was no resident vicar to silence the disputants. In the same way many men quarrel with those who wish, not to lead, but to co-operate with them, upon the same grounds as those gentlemen whom you told me of, who objected to be 'tied to the chariot-wheels of Mr. W——.' I believe that, as clergymen, we ought on the contrary to be willing to be tied like furze-bushes to a donkey's tail, if we can thereby do any good by stimulating what is lazy and quickening what is slow. In many cases more good may be done by submitting to be led than by attempting to lead; at least where good is the object of both parties. From report, I think Mr. —— may be rather a difficult man to manage; but if he has all the agreeable qualities for which he is famed, we cannot well fail to agree.

"Many thanks for the Oxford paper. I was much amused with the offended dignity of the Oxonian Press. In future, however, I shall know what Philological Professor means. I have proposed a plan for attaching the Hebrew Professorship at Eton to the Conductship, which I hope H—— will take into consideration. I see no other way of getting a respectable teacher of Hebrew resident in the place. Between the Conduct's stipend, and the Hebrew pupils, and the prospect of a living, the situation would be very good for a young man, and now there are Hebrew Scholarships at the Universities there would be no lack of Candidates when P—— goes.

"Believe me, your sincere friend,

"G. A. SELWYN.

"P.S.—Since I last wrote, I have thought that some parts of my letter must have been unintelligible to you; as you were not at Eton when the miserable feuds were raging among the private tutors. It was that circumstance which first led me to think whether it was not possible that a body of men engaged in the same employment, should associate constantly without ill-will. You cannot conceive how I value the unity of the last two years after

the warfare of the preceding. We must try to preserve it, whenever our society receives accessions of force by new arrivals. Pray let me know what I can do for you at Eton. The books I shall send out as a matter of course. I have no fears of being detained beyond my day, as I intend to leave this place on Saturday next, to meet B——, at D——'s, at Middleton.

"I look forward to the daily Hebrew meeting as a new and most useful plan for promoting religious intercourse. I propose that we should meet by weeks at each other's rooms. I have begun the Hebrew Scriptures with the New Year, and proceed at the rate of three chapters per diem, which, with the omission of Sundays, will, I hope, bring me to the end of Malachi before the conclusion of the year. This will not interfere with the other plan. I find that keeping a clerical calendar is a check to idleness, and strongly recommend you to enter all your services. You will have the satisfaction of beginning well.

"The return to your morning calls will be most agreeable to me, for I have grown very lazy and ὀψαμάτης; it is now almost 1 A.M. and I am seldom earlier in retiring. This of course involves a corresponding idleness in the morning. I am taking leave of my friends in this neighbourhood, as I have quite decided not to devote any more holidays to secular employments. Whether I shall stay at Eton after my present engagement ends, *i.e.* after next election, is still uncertain; but I think that it will end in my remaining for a time upon a new basis of agreement."

It was about this time that the town of Windsor was thrown into a fierce controversy on the subject of education, a subject less fruitful of strife then than now. Some Nonconformists presented a memorial to Lord J. Russell, praying for help to the British and Foreign Schools on the ground that there were 800 children in the town whom the existing schools could not receive. Selwyn doubted the accuracy of these figures, and all the more so when he found that the statement which contained them had been drawn up by an agent from London, who sat in a room in an inn and was interviewed by all and sundry that chose

to come to him with their allegations. Accordingly he incited his fellow private tutors to join with him in taking a census of the whole town; they divided the place into districts, and between them they visited every house and took down the numbers and names of the children and the schools which they attended, and they finished their labours by presenting a report of 80 instead of 800 children unprovided with, or unable to avail themselves of, existing schools.

It is incorrect to say that their labours ended here, for the deficiency thus revealed led to an infant school—an institution very rarely found forty years ago—being built in Windsor. Mr. Selwyn was foremost in the work of building, as he was afterwards in the task of superintending and teaching in the school. He visited newly-established infant schools in London during his vacation, and with characteristic thoroughness lost no opportunity of studying the results of other persons' experiments.

He gave up the charge of Boveney and became the duly licensed curate of Windsor. The then vicar lived at Datchet, the living of which parish he held as well as that of Windsor. Mr. Selwyn was therefore practically in sole charge, for the vicar had full confidence in him and left everything in his hands. The parish was in a very unsatisfactory condition: a debt of 3,000*l.* had been incurred by the churchwardens on pulling down an old and building a new church: two years and a half had elapsed and neither principal nor interest had been paid: the creditor had obtained a mandamus from the Court of Queen's Bench commanding the churchwardens to raise the necessary sum (3,300*l.*) by a rate on the inhabitants. A vestry meeting was summoned and assembled, with a certain degree of fitness, at the workhouse, for a rate of six shillings in the pound would have pauperised the parish: after much recrimination it was proposed to raise a subscription, not to pay the debt but to indemnify and defend all who might be proceeded against for refusing to pay the

rate: one proposal pointed to that accustomed remedy for sloth and parsimony, a system of pew-rents, varying from 2*l.* 2*s.* to 5*l.* 5*s.* per seat per annum, which sanguine arithmeticians thought would bring in 500*l.*

Mr. Selwyn asked permission to address the meeting, as one who took a great interest in the parish, though not a ratepayer. In calm and measured language he pointed out that the parish did owe 3,000*l.* to the lady who had generously lent that sum on the security of the rates, that the Queen's Bench was determined to enforce the payment, and that the only question was how the sum was to be raised. He showed that to resist the Queen's Bench would lead to suits in the Ecclesiastical Court and then to suits in the Court of Chancery, and that this indefinite legislation would not only cost vast sums of money but would destroy all good feeling in the parish for many years. He suggested therefore that a vigorous effort should be made to free the parish from the burden, and he would follow up that suggestion, in order to commend it to others, by promising cheerfully to perform his duties as curate for two years without receiving any remuneration. By thus relinquishing a stipend of 150*l.* per annum for two years he would be able to relieve the parish of a tithe of its obligation.

The offer took the meeting wholly by surprise, but made as it was distinctly "as a peace-offering to the parish," it was irresistible, and within a month the sum of more than 3,000*l.* was raised, the creditor giving up, under Mr. Selwyn's advice, her claim for interest, and thus practically making a donation equal to his own.

Peace being thus restored to the parish the curate could carry out his schemes for its welfare with some better hope of success: he set on foot soup-kitchens, mothers'-meetings, and those numerous parochial organizations, now so common, but then so rare; he was not satisfied with the education that was given in the middle-class schools in Windsor, and he endeavoured to improve it by instituting public

examinations and by giving prizes to the successful candidates. While the National Society was, in a tentative manner, providing inspection of the schools in certain dioceses, he had arranged a complete system of inspection and of tabulating the results over a considerable area, of which Windsor was the centre.

The collection made for wiping out the debt had left a surplus, and this was set aside as a nest-egg for a new church which would meet the wants of the growing population of Windsor, and serve also as a church for the soldiers. Hitherto a chaplain had always been appointed to minister to the regiments both of cavalry and infantry quartered in Windsor. Prayers were said in the barrack-yard or in the riding-school, the men standing under arms. The nest-egg grew, and soon Mr. Selwyn hoped that he saw his way to building the church: it was expected that the War Department and Horse Guards would contribute liberally: but Lord Hill was "a little afraid of religion among soldiers, because two majors had lately committed some acts of insubordination in preaching, &c." Mr. Selwyn suggested that their "very exuberance of zeal might be attributed to the soldiers having so little that was doctrinal in their own religious services." He went to Mr. Macaulay, then Secretary-at-War, who thought 1,300*l.* a sufficient contribution. He wanted, and hoped for 2,000*l.*, because as the whole cost, including endowment, would be 6,000*l.*, and the church at one of the three Sunday services would be given up to the soldiers, it was fair that they should contribute one-third. Among other objections Macaulay urged that perhaps the time might come when the Queen would not reside at Windsor, and when consequently so many troops would not be quartered there. Selwyn said he felt inclined to suggest to him that this was not thought of when 70,000*l.* was spent on the stables!

His popularity did not always serve him: who, indeed, that does his duty, can be always and with all persons, popular? He used to tell a story of the churchwardens and

himself being outvoted and outwitted by the Dissenters at a vestry meeting: they assembled at the proper vestry-room which would hold a dozen people; a hundred crowded round, evidently bent on mischief; a loud voice proposed an adjournment to the schoolroom, which was at once filled: the same voice proposed an adjournment to the town-hall, which was filled: the churchwardens proposed their unpalatable scheme, countenanced and supported by the presence at least of the curate, and they had to walk out of the town-hall and through the streets amidst roars of laughter and loud hisses, being a minority of about five to 100. The story used to be told by him many years afterwards, and the great point was that all along he did not agree with the policy of the churchwardens, but as curate he felt bound to be loyal to the vicar and to the authorities. "This," says one who was always in his confidence, "was his principle throughout his life. He deeply regretted the passing of Public Worship Regulation Act, but would not oppose the heads of the Church and State who were bent on bringing it in, and he took his share of the unpopularity of the bishops in general."

It was a subject of comment and admiration when persons observed the relations of the vicar, Rev. Isaac Gosset, who put everything in Windsor into his hands, and the curate who kept himself carefully to the background. Windsor was rapidly taking the lead among the parishes of the neighbourhood and when any new organization was spoken of to the vicar in terms of praise he used to say, "It's all Selwyn's doing," and Selwyn on his part referred everything to the vicar. Never did man more thoroughly and conscientiously put into action (what he used afterwards as bishop to impress on deacons and curates) the promise of his ordination, reverently to obey [not only] the ordinary and other chief ministers of the church [but also] them to whom the charge and government over him was committed.

In 1838 the recent action of the Cathedral Commissioners called forth from Mr. Selwyn a powerful defence, not of cathedrals as they were, but of cathedrals as they would be, if the intentions of their founders, as revealed by their statutes, were carried out. The pamphlet was not originally published, but was circulated privately among friends whose criticisms were freely invited. By some the suggestions were laughed at as visionary; others accepted portions and proposed alterations and modifications; these were carefully considered: in a letter to a friend who had taken exception to one expression, the author wrote: "Your objection has been confirmed by Manning, a friend of Gladstone's, and I must reconsider the whole of that part." Probably forty years ago those persons were not to be lightly blamed who thought the author's views Utopian: but on a small scale, with no endowments, with no past on which to build but with everything to be done by himself and under his own direction, the author was permitted in New Zealand to carry out in detail every portion of the scheme which he had elaborated for the full utilization of the old and wealthy foundations, and subsequently at Lichfield he year by year adapted the resources of the chapter to the needs of his vast diocese, and succeeded in obtaining an amended set of statutes, feats of patience and zeal, incredible to those who know the difficulty of moving by moral suasion a large body of men with separate interests, who have inherited traditions of a different state of things. To one friendly critic he wrote, "I do not consider any of my remarks very Utopian if only right principles could entirely get the better of private interests, which perhaps you will say is the most Utopian supposition of all."

When he contended against the diversion of cathedral revenues to parochial endowments, it was not for the sake of the revenue itself, for he wrote, "No amount of income can dignify an inefficient minister," but he claimed the

retention of temporal endowments in order to secure that "effectual organization which the clergy are more in need of than of money; for their character rests not on the possession of wealth but on the due performance of their duties." The cathedral was, in his opinion, "supplementary to the parochial system, "a sort of 'bank of supply' upon which the great body of the clergy might draw for almost every kind of clerical assistance."

When he observed "so strange an agreement in opinion between bishops of the Church of England and ministers of the British Government, and senators of different political parties, on the propriety of curtailing the revenues and privileges of the chapters," he could only account for such a phenomenon by the hypothesis that "they had all taken it for granted that the cathedral canon is a less useful minister of Christ than the parish priest," and what was his remedy? He wrote as follows:—"The only clear course of action open to the chapters, therefore, is to claim from the rulers both of Church and State the privilege of a more extended and diffusive usefulness, the power of developing the capabilities of their holy office and of restoring their order to the efficient exercise of its legitimate functions."

In the opinion of our author, "a cycle of canonical visitation by ministers selected for their piety, learning, and eloquence, would meet those cases in which religion suffers relapses where the resident minister, either from age or other circumstances is inefficient in the discharge of his duty," and if the prebendaries "were always judiciously selected," he conceived that "no clergyman would consider such visits intrusive." He deprecated the fashion still prevalent in some places by which the clergy of a given locality exchange pulpits according to a definite cycle, "for," he wrote, "a parochial minister is out of place everywhere except in his own church and parish: the effort of his exertions here depends mainly upon their continuity and upon the concentration of all his energies upon one definite

object: he departs from his character when he becomes a home missionary."

In the divinity schools of the cathedrals where, as in some cases divinity lecturers are endowed, students should, he thought, be trained for the ministry, and a class of deacons kept on probation, employed wherever needed and sent forth as curates when sufficiently trained. Of the students thus under education some might be taken from the humblest ranks of society. The resolution adopted by most of the English bishops at this time [1838], of ordaining no one who was not a member of an English university debarred from the ministry many deserving men who were unable to meet the expense of an academical course, but the cathedral funds could supply scholarships by which the most promising members of this class might be maintained at the university. "My fervent prayer," he wrote, "is that the ministry of the Church may take root downwards: that many a rustic mother may feel an honest pride in the profession of her son, and bless the Church which has adopted him into her service. But these must not be 'Jeroboam's ministers,' 'the lowest of the people,' but men, who by their talents and virtues have proved themselves worthy of a higher station. If sufficient caution be used in selecting ministers from the great body of the people, the Church must be strengthened and cannot be degraded. It seems to be essential to the permanent efficiency of all orders of men that they should be recruited from time to time by well-chosen reinforcements from the ranks below them. The cathedral institutions have the means of providing such a course of probation in youth, and such a system of encouragement to the deserving in after life as might be sufficient, under the blessing of God, to ensure the good conduct of their students at the universities; and thus, without injury to the character or efficiency of the ministry, they might become the avenues by which the poorest man of merit might arrive at academical distinction and pass on to the highest offices in the Church."

Forty years ago no normal school existed for the training of schoolmasters: they learned the mechanical routine of the system by attending for a month or two at some central school which "made them drill-sergeants and nothing more." "The degenerate free-schools which are at present attached to some cathedrals, do not realize the intentions of their founder, who required the scholars to come already prepared with a knowledge of reading, writing and grammar." It was the evident design of the founder that they should be trained for higher service, and it was part of Mr. Selwyn's scheme that the more promising pupils of national schools should be received into the cathedral schools and there be trained to teach, and in cases of exceptional ability become chapter scholars at the university.

Our author observed that a request had recently been made to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to allow the cathedral to be open to the public, "as a means of purifying the taste and exciting the emulation of the people by the sight of the memorials which it contained of departed genius and virtue." But he claimed a higher destiny for our cathedrals than to become walhallas: with their doors always opened he conceived that they would offer all the day long those opportunities for private prayer which were then only to be enjoyed in "the solemn and still interval which occurs between the opening of the doors of the cathedral and the commencement of the service, when the minster has the privacy of a chamber without the adaptation to the purposes of every-day life, and becomes, as it were, a domestic oriel, invested with the dignity of its own sacred and awful character as the House of God." Besides purifying the taste and exciting the emulation, he wished to employ the cathedral in developing the *spiritual* energies of the nation: he hoped "that the enlightened judgment which values it as a monument of human genius will uphold it still more earnestly as a place of divine worship: that they who acknowledge its effect

upon the mind of men, will desire to extend its influence over their spirit, and that they who would teach the nation how Nelson did his duty to his country, will think it a far higher object to teach them to know what God demands of them as the Christian conquerors of so large a portion of the unconverted world."

After running the gauntlet of private criticism from many friends at the Universities the pamphlet was published and dedicated to Mr. Gladstone, "who," the author said, "suggested the whole idea in a paragraph of a letter to me."

Having shown in something of detail how the various needs of a diocese might be met by the organization and ministry of a chapter, Mr. Selwyn drew a sketch of a Cathedral Institution, "rather as an aid to reflection on the subject than as an exemplar of what such an institution ought to be." It is so complete a sketch, and is so striking an evidence of the author's power of organization, that it would be impossible to exclude it from these pages.

"The Cathedral Church of ——— was founded in the year 1539 by Henry VIII. for the diffusion of religious knowledge and works of piety of every kind throughout the diocese of ——— to the Glory of Almighty God and the general welfare of his Majesty's subjects. The cathedral establishment consists of the bishop, the dean, the canons, the minor canons, the divinity lecturer, the upper and lower masters of the cathedral school, the probationary deacons, the theological scholars, the cathedral university scholars, the scholars of the cathedral school, the organist, the lay clerks, and other inferior officers.

"The Bishop is the spiritual head of the whole cathedral establishment, the president of the cathedral council, and the visitor, empowered to require obedience to the cathedral statutes from every member of the body.

The Dean and Canons are men selected for their learning and piety. They are all distinguished as eloquent interpreters of the word of God, as powerful advocates of the cause of charity, and as active promoters of the spiritual welfare of mankind. They form the council of the bishop,

and act as his advisers in all questions of difficulty, as his examining chaplains, and as his supporters on all public occasions. They reside in their prebendal houses the greater part of the year, and hold no living with their cathedral preferment.

"The Diocese is divided into as many districts as there are canons in the cathedral, and every canon is considered responsible to the bishop for the effectual diffusion of the word of God in his own district. For this purpose he arranges a cycle of visitation, including all the places in which the aid of a powerful and impressive preacher is most needed; and endeavours, by frequent visits, to awaken his hearers to a sense of the blessings of the Gospel, to refute errors of doctrine, and to explain and enforce such Christian ordinances as may be endangered by the spirit of the times.

"The Parochial Clergy are far from considering this as an intrusion, because the canon is in all other ways their friend and coadjutor. If they are in want of a school-room, or a chapel, they have only to apply to him; and he is willing, both by preaching and by exerting his influence in the diocese, to forward their plan to the utmost of his power.

"The Canons are also secretaries of the great societies of the Church, the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., the Society for Building and Enlarging Churches and Chapels, the National Society for the Education of the Poor, &c. By their preaching, the principles and operations of those societies are effectually made known throughout the diocese, and liberal contributions obtained. The effect of these frequent visits of the canons to the parish churches in the districts is seen in the improvement of the general tone of preaching throughout the diocese.

"The Chapter meet once every fortnight as a Clergy Aid Society to inquire into the spiritual wants of the diocese. At this board all applications for clerical assistance and clerical employment are received. In some cases one of the probationary deacons is sent as a regular assistant to an aged minister in a populous parish; another is sent to take the duty of a clergyman during a temporary illness; a third is appointed to officiate for an incumbent during a short and unavoidable absence. These are supported by the chapter

or incumbent, according to circumstances. Many of the probationary deacons become curates in the diocese upon the recommendation of the chapter—sometimes, when the population of a parish has increased so much as to require an additional church, the influence of the chapter is exerted to procure the sum requisite for the building, and a deacon is appointed to do the duty till a sufficient income has been raised for a regular incumbent. The lectures of the divinity lecturer are attended by as many of the probationary deacons as are not employed in other parts of the diocese, by the students in the missionary class, and by the theological students who have completed their university education, but have not yet been admitted to orders. Many other students not on the foundation are admitted into the class of the professor on sufficient recommendation, and prepare themselves for orders under his direction.

"A general examination is held annually by the dean and chapter, with the assistance of the divinity lecturer and the masters of the cathedral school. At this time the theological students are examined, and the best selected to be presented to the bishop for ordination. After this they become probationary deacons. At the same time the cathedral university scholars present their testimonials from the colleges in which they have graduated, and request to be re-admitted upon the cathedral foundation as theological students. The missionary scholars also present their certificates of having completed the required course. The scholars of the cathedral free school are also examined, and the most promising are chosen to fill the vacancies among the cathedral university scholars. A second class is selected for the service of foreign missions. Those of inferior talent but of equally good general character are recommended by the examiners as qualified to be masters of parochial schools. Of the remainder, some are apprenticed by the chapter, others become lay clerks of the choir, and others obtain situations as parish clerks, on account of their skill in music. It very rarely happens that any scholar is expelled. The examination of candidates for admission into the cathedral school comes next in order. They are required to be poor and for the most part destitute of friends, and to come

prepared with a knowledge of reading and writing. The greater number of the candidates are sent up from the national schools of the diocese with testimonials from their clergyman and schoolmaster. Some are the orphan children of clergymen and other professional men. The best proficients in the knowledge and application of scripture are admitted into the trial class, but their election is not confirmed till the examination of the following year.

"When a cathedral living is vacant, the dean and chapter meet to appoint a new incumbent. The names of the minor canons and of the probationary deacons (whether employed in curacies or resident at the cathedral) are read over, and the appointment is made with due consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the parish and of the merits of the candidates. If the living is given to a minor canon, one of the probationary deacons is elected at the same meeting to fill his place. Livings which are not accepted by any member of the cathedral body are given to the most deserving of the diocesan schoolmasters, who are admitted into holy orders by the bishop upon special recommendation of the clergy, and serve as curates of the vacant benefices during their year of deacon's orders.

"At all times of the year the dean and chapter devote themselves to the duties of hospitality. The cathedral library is open to all clergymen resident in the diocese. The parochial clergy look upon the canons as their advisers in all doubtful cases, and the probationary deacons, after they have passed into permanent employment, return with delight from time to time to draw from them fresh stores of spiritual wisdom.

"Among this variety of employments the daily service of the cathedral is not neglected. The value of that divine ordinance is never forgotten. God is glorified by the daily prayers of His ministers and people; intercession is made for the sins of the nation and of all mankind; the book of the revealed word of God is read day by day, the song of praise and thanksgiving continually ascends to Heaven as a morning and evening sacrifice.

"The above sketch of cathedral institutions, acting, as it is presumed, in accordance with the intentions of the

founder, may serve to show that there are important benefits which the chapters may confer on the parochial clergy, without any improper alienation of revenues or violation of statutes. The plan proposed by the commissioners has not yet passed into law; and there is still hope that the cathedrals may be spared. If it should please God to inspire the rulers of our nation with a deeper sense of what is due to His glory and what is necessary for the spiritual welfare of His people, we may still hope to see the institutions of our ancestors restored to their ancient dignity, and fulfilling the intentions of their founders. We may still hope to see every cathedral acting as the spiritual heart of the diocese, diffusing its episcopal and pastoral influence into every parish, promoting all works of charity and piety, publishing the glad tidings of salvation by the mouth of its chosen ministers, distributing the scriptures into every cottage, building and enlarging the houses of God, propagating the gospel in foreign parts, and educating the children of the poor at home. The chapters may then become the foster-fathers of the friendless and orphan, the patrons of that order from which Jesus chose His disciples, the guardians of every humble soul in which Christ has quickened the seed of holiness and faith. And being thus in favour both with God and man, the cathedral clergy may be encouraged to carry on their good and useful work, to minister to the increasing wants of the people, to supply the deficiencies of sick and aged clergymen, to ensure regularity in the performance of divine service throughout the country, to furnish the parochial schools with a more enlightened class of instructors, and to fill every parish church with the melody of harmonious voices praising God. And as they may be the friends of the people generally, so also may they be the guides and counsellors of the parochial clergy, the connecting link between the hierarchy and the ministry, the spiritual hosts and patrons of the young and inexperienced deacon. And, finally, in their own proper and local priesthood they may be reverenced as the ministers of the eternal God, while they offer to Him their daily tribute of prayer and thanksgiving in the noblest temples that were ever consecrated to His worship and honour."

The action of the Cathedral Commissioners and of the Government had caused so much excitement that every contribution to the subject was certain to attract attention. Mr. Selwyn's pamphlet distinctly challenged criticism, and it was promptly considered by persons in high position. The author thus deals with the strictures of Bishop Blomfield, of London, in a letter to his brother, the Rev. W. Selwyn:—

[Post-mark, *March 8th*, 1838.]

My dear William,

I send you the address of Mr. Richard Cobbett, which will speak for itself in language which seems as if it had been *curtatus inæquali tonsore*. I believe him to be a respectable man and creditable tonsor.

I have received from J. F. the strictures of the Bishop of London on my pamphet. The following are his remarks as stated by J. F.:—

"1. His first objection was that in your plan you would put prebendaries in the bishops' places, or rather make them quite independent of bishops.

"2. That it would be impossible to give them such large charges, and to keep them in at the same time.

"3. That it would not do to put them to preach in parochial pulpits.

"4. That it could not be *their business* to preach charity sermons consistently with giving the parochial minister leave to ask the aid of others.

"5. That it would be undesirable that such men as So and so and So and so, should be the only persons whom a clergyman might go to for such purposes.

"6. That the thing had been tried and failed; that prebendaries would never consent to be prebendaries without other offices and emoluments."

I confess that these seem to be mere objections of detail, founded upon a mistaken view of the object of my remarks. The main question seems to be, yes, or no, *shall the cathedrals be influential in the dioceses?* My remarks were nothing more than a classification of such duties as prebendaries might perform consistently with their statutes. Does not No. 6 neutralize Nos. 1 and 2. Would No. 6 be

the case if anything approaching to Nos. 1 and 2 were to be the case?

3. The answer seems to be that they do so already, wherever they can be procured. Clergymen are too happy to catch a prebendary, which is not very easy, as they have livings of their own.

4 and 5 object to an exclusive privilege which I never hinted at. I never said that prebendaries only should preach.

Gladstone speaks very favourably, and has sent for some more copies in addition to those which I first sent. Rivington has had twenty-five. Gladstone's names are: The Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Pusey, Manning, Sir R. Inglis, Lord Ashley, W. B. Baring, T. D. Acland, Viscount Mahon, Mathison.

Meanwhile in the Houses of Parliament things were improving, owing, in some degree, probably to the trenchant criticism of the opponents of the commissioners; and in the following letter Mr. Selwyn made known his strategy and his hopes:—

TO THE REV. W. SELWYN.

ETON, *May* 21*st*, 1838.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

The cause of cathedrals seems to be slowly gaining ground. The most important advantage gained is the abandonment of the principle of the Commissioners in the Church Leases Bill brought in lately by ministers. The Bishop of Lincoln says, p. 38 of his letter, that "this measure is directly at variance with the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners." This is a good wedge to be driven home, because the Cathedral Bill will not pass the House of Lords on any other credit than the sanction of the episcopal members of the commission. Lord John Russell has shown that he uses the commission only so far as he thinks it useful, and dispenses with its recommendations as soon as he pleases. This frees the clergy from all deference to the Episcopal Commissioners, because it is clear that in the end the bill will be the bill of the Whig ministers, and not a measure of the Tory bishops. Many persons still cling to the bill for the bishops' sake, but this will open their eyes.

The next point in favour of cathedrals is that the parochial clergy are beginning to petition.

Manning, the author of a letter to the Bishop of Chichester against the principle of the commission, writes thus :—

"We are petitioning the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament against the Cathedral Bill, and our petition will I hope receive the signatures of a large majority of the clergy beneficed or resident in the archdeaconry of Chichester, with the archdeacon at our head. It is very short, taking the ground of the sacredness of bequests, and injustice of defeating the intention of founders, &c."

Copleston, Fellow of Exeter College, and now of Exeter city, writes :—

"You will be glad to hear that on the very day on which I received your letter, the day of our archdeacon's visitation, we signed two petitions to both Houses, one deprecating the adoption of the 4th Report of the E. C. as unjust in principle, and ultimately subversive of the main object of cathedral institutions. The other petition attacks the commission on the ground so nobly taken and maintained by Manning, as unchurch-like and unconstitutional in principle, a violation of the Bill of Rights. This example will, no doubt, be followed by other archdeaconries, for this county is by no means slack in such matters."

Oxford University Convocation agreed to a most capital address on the 5th of May. I quote one sentence :—

"That the cathedral institutions are an integral branch of the establishment, tracing their origin to the first planting of Christianity among our Saxon ancestors, and many of them revived and re-established, with the most comprehensive views of the general well-being of the Church by the great authors of the Reformation."

I have a copy, which I will reprint if I find that the petitions do not get on for want of models. I do not know how my little book has sold. P—— is rather slow, or R—— rather sulky, for no copies are to be had at the latter place. Perhaps he is angry that he did not publish after distributing privately.

I have had a letter from your bishop in acknowledgment of my large-paper copy, in which he says :—"I hope that you will excuse me adding that it was upon the principles

laid down in the eighth chapter (*i.e.* of the pamphlet) that I performed my residence for more than thirty years in Westminster Abbey, with only one mulct for absence, owing to illness, during that long period."

That no stone might be left unturned, Mr. Selwyn drew up the following petition to the House of Lords :—

"To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

"The humble petition of the undersigned clergymen of the Church of England showeth:

"That your petitioners have seen with very deep concern, that a Bill has passed the House of Commons, having for its object the suppression of many offices and dignities in the cathedral foundations of the Church of England.

"That, while they abstain from expressing an opinion on the alienation of the revenues of the chapters, they deprecate in the most earnest manner the abolition of any office dedicated, by the piety of our forefathers, to the perpetual service of Almighty God.

"That your petitioners therefore pray your Lordships to respect the spiritual character of the cathedral dignities themselves, which they believe to be in itself a sufficient inducement to men of piety and learning to undertake the duties of those offices, even without any revenue or emolument whatever.

"That the cathedral dignities, even without an endowment, would be highly valuable, as affording the means of giving to the examining chaplains, and other diocesan officers, that official connexion with their bishop which is required by the canons ecclesiastical, and recognised by the charter and statutes of many of the cathedral foundations.

"That your petitioners therefore pray your Lordships to preserve the framework of our cathedral bodies in their present integrity; and even if it should be finally determined to alienate any portion of the chapter revenues, they would still entreat that their lordships the bishops may be empowered to appoint to the unendowed stalls, at their discretion, such clergymen as may be found willing to discharge the duties of those offices freely and gratuitously,

for the service of their respective dioceses, and for the spiritual welfare of the Church."

It was while his mind was fully occupied with these practical matters that he wrote the following letter to one who had for long been his *alter ego*, but from whom he had by circumstances been separated for some years. No man had been more zealous than he in the work of district-visiting, and he had induced his fellow-tutors and some of the Eton masters to combine in this unwonted duty, but the scheme of hired lay missionaries and Scripture readers did not commend itself to his judgment, and he set forth his reasons very freely and fully :—

LETTER TO THE LATE REV. JOHN FRERE.

ETON, *May 10th*, 1837.

MY DEAR JOHN,

I think that there are few things more pleasing than to find, on renewing an acquaintance with an old friend, that your mind and his have been steering the same course, and that the intercourse can be resumed upon the old basis of similar opinions and habits. You and I, I find, have come to the same conclusion about the Clerical Aid Society. The principle already is in existence, and doing as much good as can reasonably be expected of it, by means of district-visiting societies, &c.; but it works much better as a voluntary than as a stipendiary system. As long as the service rendered to the minister is purely voluntary, numbers of tradesmen and others will be willing to devote their spare time to the Christian work of ameliorating the condition of their poorer neighbours. But is it likely that they will equally respect a function which is discharged by a person, perhaps inferior in station and acquirements to themselves, for the wages of a day labourer? And can the services of one paid agent be an equivalent for the voluntary assistance of many who are willing to work in the same way for the pure love of God?

But if the persons employed as assistants are in *orders* their services are then performed as their bounden duty rather than as their stipulated *work*. It cannot be said

that the curate is paid for his duty by the 80*l.* which he receives; and therefore the motive which urges him to an active discharge of the duties of his ministry must be a professional and not a pecuniary obligation. A clergyman dedicates himself to God, and is bound to work, as it may happen, for much, or little, or even for no worldly remuneration. He cannot measure the degree of exertion required of him by the amount of his stipend. For this reason I think that clerical agents will be certainly more efficient than lay agents, and probably not less *cheap*.

But if a question arise, from what source is this additional demand for ordained ministers to be supplied? I answer, from that class from which Christ selected His apostles—from the poor. Let the Church take root downwards. Let every peasant in the country have an interest in the Establishment in the person of a son, or brother, or cousin. We have the best materials for the formation of a plebeian ministry that ever were possessed by any nation. We have a peasantry who have grown up under the fostering care of the Parochial Church system, and have been trained in religious principles by a sound and scriptural course of instruction. Our national schools are sending out from year to year supplies of talent improved to a certain point, but under the present system to be improved no further. Our national schoolmaster at Windsor sighs over the constant loss of his best and most promising boys, whom he sees passing off to places where the master discourages religion in the servant, lest he should become better than himself. The Clerical Aid Society may draw upon this bank to any amount, upon a very simple plan:

1. A school to collect the *élite* of the national schools from fourteen years old and upwards.

2. A committee to examine the above scholars at the age of eighteen, and determine from their proficiency whether they could be advantageously sent to the university as sizars, &c., with a view to future ordination. The inferior scholars might be immediately employed as schoolmasters in national or other schools.

Normal schools upon the present plan are most ridiculous. A man of little or no education goes for two months to a good national school, where he is occupied solely in teaching and putting boys through their manœuvres, and

then he is pronounced fit to be a schoolmaster. But he can never open their minds, because his own has not been opened. Then people complain, and with truth, of the cramped and irrational system of our national schools.

It was part of Mr. Selwyn's plan for securing the utmost efficiency of the clergy that they should invite each other's friendly criticisms on their sayings and doings, with a view to mutual improvement; and in days when sermons were too exclusively regarded as the test of clerical ability, it was natural that these should be among the first subjects of such criticisms. On one occasion Mr. Selwyn preached a sermon on Church Building, of which a friend asked permission to borrow the plan, and even to make extracts if it were not intended for publication. The following reply not only gave the permission sought, but also entered at some length into the general question of sermon writing and other matters :—

LETTER TO REV. C. B. DALTON.

ETON, *March 5th*, 1838.

MY DEAR DALTON,

I can assure you that I have no present intention of publishing sermons, as I believe the world to be already overstocked with that commodity, and that every new publication which is not likely to achieve immortality, is only forming one of a tribe, which is thrusting our immortal ancestors into the corner. All therefore that I have which you think would in any way interest your audience, is entirely at your service, to adopt either the plan or the words, as you may think fit. When I have more sermons to write than I can well manage, I may claim my right of reciprocity.

I congratulate you most heartily on the success of your Early Service; for I call any congregation above twenty very satisfactory, and I should not feel solitary with ten. I hope that you will never be reduced to the situation of Elijah. When I think of the danger of losing sermons, I always think of the dialogue between Barrow and a rich friend, when they were travelling together and expected to be robbed. Barrow showed some uneasiness

about losing his portmanteau, which was stuffed with sermons. His friend readily offered to guarantee the safety of his portmanteau, on condition that Barrow should be answerable for his pocket-book, which was full of bank-notes. I have therefore sent the sermon to share the fate of all other parcels.

I like your text, but think that your divisions involve too much matter. Such texts as "Our life is hid with God" are sermons in themselves, and require a great length of explanation, which withdraws the mind from the principal subject. I think one rule good, and that is, never to quote a text in support of an argument which requires itself to be explained. The original argument is lost sight of in the parenthetical explanation.

Your first sentence suggests one objection which I will call a parallelistic objection. "Immoral men, who seek excuse, and men of narrow enthusiasm, are apt to think that there is less religion in the world than there is."

Parallelize this sentence with the text.

1. *Elijah* thought that there was less religion, &c.
2. *Immoral* men think „ „ &c. &c.
3. *Men of narrow* enthusiasm „ &c. &c.

Ergo: either Elijah was an immoral man or the other kind, or the text does not lead out to appropriate conclusions; at least if my parallelistic objection be just.

Try the contrary, as an illustration:—

Elijah thought, &c.
Holy men under similar circumstances think, &c.
Holy men in solitude think, &c.
Single good men in ungodly situations think, &c.

Consequence.

Elijah was inclined to despond.
Some good men are, &c. &c.

Contrast.

All good men are not so inclined to despond.
The seraph Abdiel faithful among the faithless.
Abraham „ &c &c.
Noah „ &c. &c.

There are other texts which are more appropriate to the reproof of loose Christians who plead in excuse the general depravity. As *Eccl.* vii. 10.

Again you say:

"True religion is naturally unobtrusive." This again implies that true religion though unobtrusive was still sufficiently abundant. Was this the case? God does not speak of the abundance of true religion in Israel, but says that there was more of it than Elijah thought. It seems to me a topic of encouragement to Elijah in his fancied loneliness, rather than an expression of satisfaction at the state of Israel.

Besides: the unobtrusiveness of the 7,000 was owing to the state of the times rather than to a right principle. A Jew's religion was essentially public; and could not be rightly performed in private except in great emergencies. Therefore the parallelism again fails.

1. True religion is naturally unobtrusive,
   in the same manner as
2. The 7,000 Jews were unobtrusive;
   therefore
3. True Judaism is unobtrusive, and therefore private.
   But

the principle of unobtrusiveness is different in the two cases.

I send you these remarks because I think that you like this sort of free communication; and shall be very glad if you will retaliate in kind. '*Fungar vice cotis*, &c.' Do not think that I pretend to have arrived at the power of writing according to my own ideas of how things ought to be written. The specimens of translation in Tytler's Essay on that subject are bitterly bad. So you will take me, as I wish to be taken, as a monitor *multum ipse monendus.*

There would seem to have been complete reciprocity in the friendly criticism of each other's works, for in a letter only a week later in date than the above there occurs the following passage:—

"I have not thanked you for your discovery of Sternhold and Hopkins in my sermon, which is a gross fault in style."

In 1838 Mr. Selwyn was able to accomplish a scheme that had long been in his mind, and had been discussed by him whenever he could persuade his friends to criticise his

proposals. The scheme, which he called τετράγωνον, was a "Church Union" combining the work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the National Society, and the Church Building Society. This plan he thought might be extended all over England; and that the system of working for all at once would be far preferable to the present plan, whereby some people took up one work and some another; the Additional Curates' Fund he thought should be "strictly and solely diocesan." His scheme contemplated the "housing" of these four societies under one roof, and at the head of the whole group would be placed "a chaplain of the archbishop, or some influential clergyman such as Mr. Lonsdale, who would have been peculiarly qualified, if he had not King's College—as having been an archbishop's chaplain, as having a good income from his stall, and as being connected by his preachership at Lincoln's Inn with a large body of laymen." Over each of the four departments he would place as Secretary a prebendary or canon—the archbishop would be president—all the bishops would be members of the committee, which should be a general committee over the whole organization, with a special committee to each department: similar committees would be formed in each cathedral town with one of the canons for secretary, and archidiaconal and ruri-decanal branches in correspondence with the Diocesan Boards throughout the country. "The canonries at St. Paul's," he said, "would soon be worth 40,000*l.* a year, and these if properly managed might conduct all the machinery of the four Church societies, one canon being placed over each, but he much feared that the Bishop of London designed to seize upon these funds and appropriate them to the endowment of his churches."

On the principle of doing "what he could" in his own sphere, and of leaving others to follow the example, he succeeded in establishing the Windsor and Eton Church

Union Society, which was inaugurated at a public meeting on November 5, 1838, the Bishop of Winchester having preached in the church of New Windsor on the Sunday previous. The object of the Union was one which was always present to the founder's mind, "Co-operation," the uniting of the clergy of a given locality in a general system of mutual help and support, and the "combining all orders of the clergy and the laity in the union and fellowship of the Church of Christ, that they may work together for the good of all men, in the fear of God." This was the germ of action which produced so great results in the other hemisphere. Co-operation and union, in labour and in the Faith, these were the things at which he always aimed, in the belief that only by these could he build up the church on a wide and enduring basis, and fill it with a spirit of self-help and self-reliance in things temporal.

Here and there is apparent in his earliest correspondence after his ordination a sense of the duty of sharing in missionary work: it was perhaps chiefly for the sake of the Church abroad that he established the Windsor Church Union, and everywhere in his plans for the development of Cathedral Institutions his range of thought included the edifying of the Church in distant lands. The following letter shows his satisfaction at having at length secured for Eton and the College an opportunity of taking part in these works of love and mercy:—

LETTER TO REV. C. B. DALTON.

ETON, *Nov.* 21*st*, 1838.

MY DEAR DALTON,

You are probably aware that Eton has long laboured under the disadvantage of being a Peculiar, and has therefore been exempted from all Queen's Letters, and other incentives to charity. The ice has been broken as far as regards the little chapel; for the Provost sent for me a few days ago, and in the most civil and complimentary manner expressed his wish that I would procure a preacher for

the Church Union Society in that chapel. I of course assented, and immediately turned over the selection to P——, who is not a little pleased. Now for the College Chapel. I was too cautious to risk my credit by asking too much, and therefore I held my tongue on that subject; but I had in my heart the great advantage which the boys would derive from occasionally hearing some account of the great missionary operations of the Church; and being thereby excited to the exercise of practical charity. Will not Mr. Lonsdale feel this even more strongly than I do, and feeling it, make an offer to the Provost and Fellows to preach a sermon in aid of our quadruple alliance? He is the very man; and you the most convenient channel through which a hint to this effect can be conveyed to him; as I must remain *perdu*, having already established in some quarters too great a resemblance to Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah. Mr. Lonsdale has, I hope, received some of our papers, from which he may learn the plan of the society.

Although not yet thirty years of age, Mr. Selwyn had formed definite opinions on many questions of Church polity, as well as on Cathedral Reform, which have since been worked out, but which at that time were problems awaiting solution—and his opinions, which were sought even by his elders, have not been forgotten. On the question of the division of large parishes he thought the best way was not to divide a parish into two equal parts—but, if a new parish were to be formed, to draw off from the old one such a district as would really form a manageable parish. Then the want of still more churches would remain apparent and more good would be done, because *some* part would be really well looked after. He said moreover, that Mr. Gladstone had put this to him very clearly. One of his friends writes:—

"I spoke to Selwyn about the project of having a general Psalmody, and I told him that the Archbishop and the Bishop of London were warmly in favour of it. I asked him what he thought about getting it sanctioned by the

Queen in Council. He thought it would certainly be desirable on the principle that $n+1$ is more than $n-$. I suggested that some persons would rather not see it sanctioned by the State, if it were put out with authority by the Bishops. This sentiment he could not agree to; for though—as Gladstone has suggested—the time *may* come when the Church must disunite itself, that time has not yet come."

In November, 1838, he announced his engagement to the lady who in the following year became his wife. To a friend who reproached him for needless reticence he wrote:—

"Most gladly would I have made known my happiness to you and to all my friends, and small advantage did I see in concealment, but I was overruled. In vain I pleaded that the secret would be known at Charing Cross long before some of the friends of the parties would hear it (as it has turned out), but certainly there must be some peculiar attraction in the very idea of a secret, even when the reality of it is a thing impossible."

His future father-in-law, Sir J. Richardson, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, had a country house called The Filberts, near Bray. It was a long distance from Eton, as the road led round by the way of Maidenhead bridge, but there was a ferry on the Berkshire side of the river which brought the two places much nearer to each other. On a certain night Mr. Selwyn was returning to Eton at an hour much later than those kept by the ferrymen; there was no difficulty in his punting himself across;—but then—what of the owner of the punt in the morning? what of the early passengers coming perhaps to their work, if the Windsor curate had appropriated the punt at the midnight hour? Was there no way of combining late hours at the Filberts with the rights and comforts of the ferryman and his passengers? It was part of his nature always to have unselfish thoughts for others: and the present difficulty was solved in a way

that cost him less effort than would have been the case with most men. A modern Leander, he punted himself across the river, and then, having undressed, ferried himself back, made the boat fast and swam back to his clothes: thus gratifying himself and causing no inconvenience to others.

In view of his marriage he offered to seek for clerical duty in London, in order that his future wife might be near her father, Lady Richardson having died between the betrothal and the marriage of her daughter: but it was with satisfaction that he wrote to a friend, "She declined the proposal, and is perfectly contented to live at Eton. Then as to inclination, I love Eton and I love my pupils, and I love Windsor as the place in which my clerical feelings have been most kept alive. In fact, I never was more contented with my present situation than I am now, because the only drawback, the want of domesticity, is now in a fair way of being removed. I confess to being a little tired of living in tents."

About this time he added to his other avocations the task of correcting for the press the Greek and Hebrew edition of Bagster's Polyglot Bible.

By his marriage he vacated his Fellowship, but it will be noted that he had held it for six years and had not resided. A friend, himself a fellow of a College at the sister university, once consulted him as to the responsibilities of a non-resident fellow, and the following is a *résumé* of the conversation which elicited his own experience, and which was committed to writing at the time when this counsel was given.

"He had always looked on the matter in this light. When the Fellows of St. John's College are elected, they take an oath to reside, if necessary. When he was elected he was told with many others that his residence was not necessary; but he always felt that if ever the master should require it, *even without assigning a reason*, he was bound to go into residence or to resign. I suggested that

even this might not be fair, because, if after having enjoyed the benefits of the college so long you suddenly resigned as soon as called upon to do your duty, you forced the college to have recourse to some younger and less experienced fellows. He thought this argument not quite sound: there were always men of other colleges, if need so be, to take the Fellowship and Tutorship together. I asked him his opinion as to the pecuniary responsibility; he said he had always looked upon his dividend as ἔρμαιόν τι—or (as he once expressed it to me at Eton—he 'apponed it to lucre,'—) had never felt at liberty to apply this to selfish purposes, had thought that one good way would have been to give a sum annually to the master to increase his fund for poor students. During all the time, however, that he had held his fellowship 20*l.* out of 160*l.* per annum had been taken away for the new buildings at St. John's; he had also found vent for the money, of which he wished so to dispose, in privately supporting several deserving young men at St. John's College, so that he had never begun any systematic plan. He thought the dividend might be looked on as only a retaining fee paid by the college to the non-resident fellow for possible future services: he thought the idea of the fellowship being a reward for past services or industry absurd, as it was quite reward enough to a man for three years' industry (which has been undertaken for his own good and not that of the college) that he has gained the means of making his livelihood. The Senior Fellow told him on his election that he was that day presented with 60,000*l.*"

On June 25, 1839, Mr. Selwyn was married, his father laying aside for a time the cares of law and taking his son's duties as private tutor to his pupils, in order to allow him to go on a wedding tour. He would seem to have had his course shaped for him, and to be justified in looking forward to a career of competence and easy prosperity. Mr. Gladstone, in an appreciative letter to the editor of the *Times*, on April 17, 1878, has stated that in the case of Mr. Selwyn a distinguished and honourable future was assured to him in England, and that he had contemplated

nothing beyond it. The testimony of one so eminent in himself, and so qualified to speak of the friend of his earliest years, should find a place in his Biography:—

"Until almost the eve of his accepting the bishopric of New Zealand he had never thought of such a step. Every influence that could act upon a man appeared to mark him for preferment and prosperity in England. Connected as tutor with families of rank and influence, universally popular from his frank, manly, and engaging character, and scarcely less so from his extraordinary vigour as an athlete, he was attached to Eton, where he resided, with a love surpassing even the love of Etonians. In himself he formed a large part of the life of Eton, and Eton formed a large part of his life. To him is due no small share of the beneficial movement in the direction of religious earnestness which marked the Eton of forty years back, and which was not, in my opinion, sensibly affected by any influence extraneous to the place itself. At a moment's notice, upon the call of duty, he tore up the singularly deep roots which his life had struck into the soil of England."

But, *pace tanti viri*, there is more than hypothesis on the other side. There are those of his contemporaries, still living, who are of opinion that Selwyn was always preparing himself for a probable future of which he had himself no clear conception. One thing, however, is certain, that he did not look forward with any eagerness to the lot of an easily placed well-beneficed English rector: the conditions of such a ministry would not satisfy his aspirations for active service nor exhaust his burning zeal. The great extension of the Colonial Episcopate had not commenced in 1839, neither had any foreshadowing of that remarkable movement been revealed to the Church: but the chivalrous spirit which dwelt in the breast of such men as Henry Martyn, in our own communion, and in Xavier, Schwartz, Ziegenbalg, and Carey, men of different creeds and hardly less varied gifts and powers, possessed in fullest measure the heart of Selwyn: he held, and made no secret of the

fact, that the soldiers of the Cross ought to consider themselves always at the command of their superiors, ready to go anywhere and to do anything.

When a quarter of a century later (in 1854) he said in one of the four famous Advent sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, "offer yourselves to the Archbishop of Canterbury as twelve hundred young men have recently offered themselves to the Commander-in-chief" [for service in the Crimea]: in thus appealing to the zeal of his audience he was but inculcating what had been to himself a rigid rule of duty: only thus can we account for the testimony of his friends that "he was always preparing himself for work in the future, of whatever kind it might be;" and it is certainly true that on his marriage he took a pledge from his wife that she would never oppose his going wherever he might be ordered on duty. Preferment came in his way, as was likely, more than once, but he was not keen to accept it: his thoughts were evidently directed to more distant scenes, and it is worthy of notice that in a letter written in August, 1839, some six weeks after his marriage, the purport of which was to offer congratulations to a friend on the marriage of a member of his family, the following passage occurs, having no connection with any other part of the letter, and by its very abruptness showing how firmly the matter had taken possession of his thoughts:—

"A good deal of interest is being exerted about a new colony in New Zealand, and strong wishes are expressed that the Church should be well established at first on a good footing, and not be left as in Australia to be built up after Dissent and Popery had taken deep root. Have you heard anything about it?"

But in the autumn of the same year he said to a friend with whom he was walking to the coach at Old Windsor, "Well, our days here are numbered;" and then added that the Powis family had offered him a living to which he

supposed he should not be obliged to go until Easter, 1841 by which time he hoped "that the new Church at Windsor would be complete, and Cotton and Balston established as curates:" He added that "there was another living of greater value promised to him when it should become vacant, but he was indifferent about the whole matter." Even in January, 1841 (the year which witnessed his departure for New Zealand), he had contemplated a country benefice as his lot, for it is recorded that he "came to Lincoln's Inn, on Sunday, January 24, 1841, and described his future vicarage as 'antique without being venerable, and ruinous without being picturesque': yet he did not despond about the place, for although told that the Squires were of the worst sort of 'Squire Westerns,' he replied, that however that might be Lord Powis and his brother were determined to get their estates and livings into good order, that it was a great privilege to act with such men, and that the very fact of the living being in a bad state ought to be encouragement to take it: that if he could hold it three or four years he might bring things a little into order and smooth the way for after comers."

It has already been mentioned incidentally, that Mr. Selwyn was zealous in the cause of education, which had not then attracted a tithe of the thought and attention which have since been bestowed upon it. There was no regular system of inspection instituted, neither were the teachers trained for their work. It was at this time that the Government proposed a scheme of inspection, the results of which would regulate the amount of grant from the Imperial Treasury; and when asked his opinion, Mr. Selwyn thought that the National Society was right in declining public money if made dependent on Government Inspection, inasmuch as being a Church Society they were bound to recognise no head but the Archbishop: at the same time he thought an individual might do so; but his expectation was that the Government would abandon the

scheme of inspection on the ground of expense. Concurrently with these plans the National Society established a Training Institution for Masters, and the office of Principal was pressed on Mr. Selwyn. It was a sphere of duty very congenial with his tastes, but he had for many years determined to take no office that was not strictly ecclesiastical, and under the immediate control of the Bishops. He said that "nothing was so near to his heart as the restoration of cathedrals to their statutable usefulness." In his letter to Mr. Gladstone on the functions of cathedrals, a very prominent place had been given to the training of schoolmasters; he however declined the proposed office, unless he were appointed to it by the Archbishop; he said he "would much rather be a prebendary at any cathedral, with little or no pay, and work out the system, than be at the head of the new establishment while the system at head-quarters was as deficient as it was. In the provinces, especially at Exeter, the system was better, but the Bishop (of London), the Archbishop, and the Chapter of St. Paul's, ought to put themselves at the head of the education of the country."

His views on the position of affairs were expressed in the following letter.

To the Rev. C. B. Dalton.

Eton College, Windsor,
August 25th, 1840.

As to the Training School, I believe that I may consider the negotiation at an end. The Bishop of London offered me an honorary stall at St. Paul's; but I felt obliged to adhere to my first resolution of not undertaking the office, except upon the distinct understanding with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, that it is to be considered an ecclesiastical office, and a direct mode of carrying into effect one great object of the cathedral foundation. If I am not satisfied on this point, I feel that I do not sufficiently understand the line of duty required of me, to be able to give satisfaction; and there-

fore I would rather not undertake it. The Bishop of London added to my difficulty by saying in the House of Lords: "That he wished to record it as his solemn opinion that non-residentiary stalls were without value, except as *honorary* distinctions." What have I to do with an honorary distinction? What distinctions are there in the Church, but differences of ministration? Altogether, I do not see my way out of the present position of the National Society, with Diocesan Boards growing up around it, better constituted than itself, and with very little disposition on the part of the Archbishop to make the Society, what it ought to be, the Metropolitan Board of Education, conducted by a synod of bishops. So I suppose you will hear of my taking flight to Bishop's Castle in the course of another year or so.

In a letter of a date later by a few days he wrote thus humorously:—

"If you hear any strictures about the principalship, you may explain that I never agreed to take the office except as recognised by the competent authorities as a strictly ecclesiastical office: no personal distinction conferred upon myself individually would effect this object. As an Algebraist you will easily understand the following:—

Let S = Selwyn.
HC = Honorary Canonry.
P = Principalship.
Then P × HC = Ecclesiastical office,
and S × (P × HC) = my proposal about the principalship.

But
S × HC = an individual Canon.
and S × P = a Secular Person.
∴ S × HC + S × P = S(HC + P) = Proposal of my friends:
but S(HC + P) does not = S × (P × HC)."

The principalship being declined, a country living seemed imminent: yet at this time (the autumn of 1840) he often talked about the Colonial Churches. It was not

until the spring of 1841 that Bishop Blomfield brought the increase of the Episcopate abroad prominently before the Church. So great a step was not taken hurriedly: thoughtful men had sought and given counsel: they saw the yearly increasing tide of emigration to New South Wales, and the truer views of the Church's Divine Organization which had been adopted had made men think with shame of the history of our colonization in America: they remembered how the dreary ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century was studded with piteous and importunate appeals for the Episcopate from the Church in America, and that the spiritual gift which the civil power refused was obtained directly the States had achieved their political independence: they saw how the West Indian Sees had not been founded until a whole century after they had been promised: the Sees of Madras and Bombay had been, as it were but yesterday, established for the better supervision of the chaplains, for of missionary work in India neither bishops nor chaplains were supposed to take heed. Was a better day about to dawn? Were wiser counsels to prevail? Was it to go forth that Episcopacy and Presbyterianism differed so little that while the former was a luxury and a dignity for home work, the maimed organization and mutilated *régime* of the latter were sufficient for all practical purposes abroad? Mr. Selwyn was admitted into the counsels of those who were aiming at a better system. On one occasion he said that "he had been talking with the Dean of Chichester, and he thought that he, with the Bishop of London and a few others, were the only persons who had really enlarged views about the extension of the Church."

Malta was one of the first places at which the promoters of the movement hoped to place a bishop, and the importance of the position was considered by Mr. Selwyn to be very great. "What would a Bishop of Malta have to do?" it was asked; and he replied with warmth, "What would he have to do! What would he *not* have to do?

"Not only to care for our foreign congregations, a very wide "field, but all Africa! where a noble attempt might be "made to rekindle the fires of the early Churches—all the "places mentioned in the second chapter of the Acts of the "Apostles! Conceive," he said, "300 bishops in Egypt alone!" "Especially he hoped that inferior men would not be put into Colonial Bishoprics: he could conceive no hopes nor fancies (however high they might be raised) which would imagine greater things than had really been done: we ought not to think of what could soon be done, or done in our time, but we should act on sound and comprehensive principles, and be content that in *ages to come* the end should be attained."

It is fair therefore to assume from what has been recorded, his indifference to the prospect of the placid labours of a country benefice, his ever considering himself at the command of his ecclesiastical superiors, and his sound views on the subject of Christian colonization or church extension, that without any sort of seeking the episcopate, there was a readiness to respond to the call if it should come and an instinctive anticipation that such a summons would come.

The proposed Sees being, some entirely and others partially, supported by the offerings of private persons, and not, as in the cases of the most recent precedents of the bishops in the East and West Indies, maintained by public money, it seemed right that the selection of the new bishops, in other words, the "patronage," should not be vested in the Crown; and this opinion has in recent times established itself by its inherent justice and fitness: but Mr. Selwyn did not care for the patronage, and his views on this point, and on the remedies which the Church has in her own hands if threatened with improper exercise of patronage, are set forth in the following letter to one who, as these pages show, was at this period a very frequent correspondent:—

ETON COLLEGE, WINDSOR,
March 1*st*, 1841.

MY DEAR DALTON,

. . . . . .

I care very little about the patronage question. As a question of principle, I do not consider that the Government appoint a bishop, so long as they do not pretend to consecrate him. The consecrating bishops are ecclesiastically, I think, the senders, as they will not be compelled to consecrate an unfit person. The state gives protection and support in return for the right of recommendation. As a question of expediency, while the state can recommend any one to be Archbishop of Canterbury, it seems unimportant to question their recommendation of Bishops of New Zealand. If the appointment were in the hands of the Archbishop, it would be only a state recommendation once removed. As to the question, who provides the funds for the endowment, that will pass away and be forgotten in twenty years.

Most of the present bishoprics were endowed by private individuals, and yet the state recommends. Do not think me Erastian; because the real reason why I care so little about the matter is because we must always have the remedy in our own hands. The State can never consecrate or ordain; therefore they can never vitally affect the Church. If the state show a disposition to appoint unfit men, the bishops must take care that no such men are ordained or consecrated. All that we can suffer, is certain penalties of premunire, &c., which would be an easy exchange for martyrdom. Any persecution at home would have the effect of "sending out the disciples everywhere preaching the word." So that if the worst come to the worst, it will all tend to the propagation of the Gospel.

The Bishopric of Malta seems to be a question of names. There can be nothing to prevent having a Romanist bishop with a Protestant one in the same country, but it would be well that they should be called by different names. The Bishop of Malta would not be a title descriptive of the duties required of our bishop, for these will range over the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER III.

CONSECRATED BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND.

[1841.]

IT was in April 1841 that the Colonial Bishoprics Council was formally established, and on the Whitsun-Tuesday of the same year the Archbishops and Bishops "declared it to be their duty to undertake the charge of the fund for the endowment of Bishoprics in the Colonies, and to become responsible for its application." They specified thirteen countries as being the cases in which the need of the Episcopate was most urgent, and the first in the order of urgency was New Zealand. It was the most recently acquired of all our colonial dependencies, but there were special circumstances connected with its history that separated it from all others. Missionaries had been at work among the Maoris since 1814, when Dr. Samuel Marsden had first effected a landing on their shores with impunity: in 1839 a Company had been formed whose object it was to possess the soil of New Zealand and to sell it to English settlers: of this more will be said hereafter: side by side with this Company, whose objects were strictly commercial, if not speculative, there sprang up the Church Society for New Zealand, which aimed primarily at helping the settlers in that country, which was then no part of the British Empire, in building a church and establishing suitable schools in which the children of the natives and of the

colonists would be brought together for the purpose of education.

From these modest plans there was developed the larger scheme which aimed at providing "such a Church establishment for New Zealand as shall be complete and sufficient for all present purposes, and so to endow this establishment as to enable it to keep pace in its resources with the growing prosperity of the colony." The Church Society set forth that "the appointment of a bishop or bishops for New Zealand was highly important, and that each bishop should be accompanied by three or more clergymen, who should fix their residence, together with their bishop, in one spot which may form, as it were, a centre of religion and education for that part of the country." The Church Society of New Zealand was in advance of its day: the committee had seized on the true secret of Church extension, the formation of well-chosen centres to whose consolidation all efforts are directed, rather than the planting of a large number of weak and isolated stations: it was owing probably to the manifesto of this committee that the claims of New Zealand were so fully acknowledged by the council. The question of income was a primary one. All the clergy in New Zealand had been maintained by the Church Missionary Society, until in 1840 it was declared to be a British Colony, and one or two colonial chaplains were appointed. In 1838 Bishop Broughton had made an offer to the Church Missionary Society to visit their missions and to supply the things that were lacking in what for just a quarter of a century had been a Church Mission without Episcopacy. The committee of the society had grave doubts about the legality and validity of episcopal functions exercised beyond the limits of the empire and of the area assigned to the bishop by letters patent: but Bishop Broughton represented that while undoubtedly he had no legal jurisdiction in New Zealand, his spiritual office might be exercised validly in a country which formed part of no

diocese, and on these terms he visited New Zealand and the Society's missions: but had it been sufficient that he should do so, it was impossible that amid the daily increasing demands of New South Wales he should ever again find time to repeat so laborious a Visitation. The idea of having a resident bishop among them was distasteful to the majority of the Church missionary clergy, and was loudly condemned by the secretary at home; but ultimately a grant of 600*l.* per annum was voted by the society towards the bishop's income, and an equal sum was expected to be granted from public moneys.

The nomination of the bishop was vested in the Crown, and the Colonial Office and Archbishop of Canterbury were in conference on the question of selection. The future bishop had now no expectation of being sent to New Zealand: it has been already stated, that while he held himself ready to go anywhere, there was no semblance of seeking the labours of the Episcopate for himself, and now New Zealand had been offered to his elder brother, the late Professor Selwyn, who seemed obviously marked out for the position, not only by his high gifts both intellectual and spiritual, but also by the active part which he had taken as a member of the Committee of the Church Society for New Zealand. George Selwyn's interest in the land in no degree waned because another and not himself was to be sent to lay the foundation of the Church in that remote region; in May, 1841, he wrote to a friend, "I have seen an extract from a letter from the Bishop of Australia about New Zealand which grieves me much with respect to the failure of Mr. ——: Port Nicholson left to a catechist, to stand against a Romish bishop and six priests! All that one can say to such things is that we must work, if not for love, at least for shame's sake."

Other evidence is not wanting of the interest which he felt in the new venture of faith to which the Mother Church in the freshness of her new life was committing herself. At length his brother was obliged to decline the

offer that had been made, and the quest for a suitable bishop was renewed. It was suggested to the Bishop of London that Mr. George Selwyn would go, if he were called upon to do so by the authorities of the Church. Mr. Ernest Hawkins, who shares with Bishop Blomfield for all time the credit of having initiated and directed the great movement which has now studded the world with our missionary dioceses, wished "to start immediately to Eton and sound him"; but one who knew Mr. Selwyn better restrained him, and said that the proposal, if it were to be accepted, must come to him officially. So the Bishop made the formal offer, and received for answer the following letter.

ETON COLLEGE, *May 27th*, 1841.

MY LORD,

Whatever part in the work of the ministry the Church of England as represented by her Archbishops and Bishops may call upon me to undertake, I trust I shall be willing to accept with all obedience and humility. The same reasons which would prevent me from seeking the office of a bishop, forbid me to decline an authoritative invitation to a post so full of responsibility, but at the same time of spiritual promise.

Knowing to Whose ministry I am called, and upon Whose strength alone I can rest my hopes, I cannot suffer the thought of my youth and inexperience to have more than their due weight. I must trust that my Master's strength will be made perfect in my weakness, so that my youth may not be despised.

It has never seemed to me to lie in the power of an individual to choose the field of labour most suited to his own powers. Those who are the eyes of the Church and have seen him acting in the station in which God has placed him, are the best judges whether he ought "to go up higher." Whether that advancement be at home or abroad is a consideration which, as regards the work to be done, must rest with those who best know what that work is, and how many and of what kind are the labourers, but which can in no way affect the purely spiritual question of the duty of a minister to his Church: wherever or whatever that duty may be; with whatever prospects or adjuncts

of emolument or dignity, or without any ; the only course seems to be to undertake it at the bidding of the proper authority, and to endeavour to execute it with all faithfulness. There is no question about the spiritual duty itself ; the only question is, whether in the discharge of that duty we shall be obliged to be tent-makers or not. But all these and similar points may be left to be settled by the proper persons, having no bearing upon the real merits of the case.

Allow me to offer my best thanks to your Lordship for your kind letter, and to place myself unreservedly in the hands of the Episcopal Council to dispose of my services as they may think best for the Church.

I am, &c., &c.,

G. A. SELWYN.

The bishop was impressed and delighted, but declined "hastily to take advantage of a spirit so noble." He sent Mr. Ernest Hawkins to Mr. Selwyn, and he reported that he was assured of his readiness to go. "Not only did he express no hesitation on his own part, but he said that he could answer for his wife, for they had married with that understanding" ; at the same time he admitted to a friend that the death of Sir John Richardson in that same year had facilitated his decision, for, said he, "How could I have taken away that old man's daughter?" Meanwhile the Archbishop had sent to the Bishop of London a letter to Lord John Russell (Colonial Secretary), which the bishop was to send or withhold, as he thought fit. The letter was sent, but considerable delay occurred. There were not wanting those who would, if they only had the power, have deprived the Church of the services of this greatest of missionary bishops. A contemporary of Mr. Selwyn's, on whose memory all the events connected with that period are clearly impressed, writes: "With George Selwyn the feeling was 'Here am I ; send me !' and probably no man in England could have been found equally qualified for that difficult post, but there were some among the ranks of those who called themselves Low Churchmen (some of whom are

high in office or position at the present time), and one who was then a member of the Government, of whom the bishop told me that he had urged as an objection to his appointment, that Mr. Selwyn was a Tractarian. Now it so happens, said the bishop-designate to myself, that I have never read any of the Tracts." [1]

It would seem from the following letter that the un-

[1] The selection of George Selwyn was no surprise to those who knew him; for to know him was to detect in him gifts of rare excellence and the promise of a future that was certain to attain distinction. The Obituary notice which appeared in the *Times* newspaper would have failed in the completeness of the sketch had it not mentioned as it did this promise of its early years: as it was, it was an admirable portrait, as the following extract will show:—

"The foundations of society are perpetually renewed, and among those foundations it may be said that the most important part are the new types of characters from time to time presenting themselves. Long before George Augustus Selwyn was thought of for a bishopric, a certain brightness surrounded his name and seemed a hope of something to the hopeful. Old things had become worn out or worked very dry, and there was then more than ever the need of new springs for the fresh start this country was making in every direction. We were, or at least we believed ourselves, a nation of scholars, of gentlemen, of statesmen, of divines, and of good Christians, besides being very fair examples of the human species generally, and we now found ourselves committed to the immense task of peopling, organising, and evangelising half the world. In this work that which related to the spiritual improvement of our new fellow-subjects was of paramount obligation. But the men were wanting. True, there are not wanting men who would be moved from a study to a throne, who could write a Latin preface, rectify the text of a Greek chorus, or deliver an occasional Charge, and who, if the dispute were a question of words, would be sure to have the last of it. But these were not the men to deal with busy colonists, simple savages, roaming adventurers, or even with the vast masses of humanity cast in the early forms of Indian tradition. Nay, it had come over us, even at home, that something more was wanted to cope with our own difficulties. Among others, for he was not alone, though he was pre-eminent in the group, George Selwyn was the Christian, yet the man of the world; the scholar, yet the athlete, first and foremost in all the tests of English courage and skill, wise and witty as well, with a word, a look, and a deed for everybody; holding his own yet denying to no one else that privilege. So many good men in this country have adorned society and built up their families without having the opportunity, or even the wish, to do much more, that it would have been quite in accordance with the old ideas had George Selwyn just shone for a time and passed into the gloom. By a happy venture he was chosen to found a see at the Antipodes at the early age of thirty-four, and when the people he had to convert were still fresh, so to speak, from banquets on the flesh of their murdered fellow-men. As late as 1828 cannibalism was general in New Zealand, and in the year 1841 George Selwyn was consecrated bishop of the islands known under that name."

certainty of the moiety of the income expected from the Government was expected to turn Mr. Selwyn from his purpose, and that the authorities would thus be spared the trouble of deciding as to his fitness; but on hearing of the doubt he replied that he considered himself now pledged, and that he would go even if no income were forthcoming.

LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO REV. G. A. SELWYN.

LAMBETH, *July 12th*, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this morning received a letter from Lord J. Russell (who is at present on a visit to Lord Minto in Scotland), of which the following is an extract.

"The only remaining doubt I have is whether Mr. Selwyn will, upon a full consideration, undertake the Episcopal Office in New Zealand. I wish you would be so good as to inform him that I wish he would make inquiries at the Colonial Office of Mr. Stephen, as to the probable condition of a New Zealand bishop, especially if Government should not obtain from the House of Commons a grant of 600*l.* a year. If he shall then be of opinion, and signify to me that he is prepared to go, I will at once recommend him to the Queen, and have the Letters Patent prepared."

It is, I think, very reasonable on Lord J. Russell's part, to wish that you should obtain full information in all respects before you undertake an office which may subject you at first to many hardships and privations. The 600*l.* a year I should hope will not be refused by the House of Commons; but I agree with Lord John in desiring that you should clearly see your way before you undertake an office which has little else to make it desirable, than the prospect which it holds out of promoting the spiritual welfare of a colony, which in the course of time will probably be exceedingly populous, by completing the Church Establishment, before dissent and indifference have made any progress in the country. I have every reason to think that you have considered this matter well, and I am fully persuaded that under the blessing of Divine Providence, your

piety, moderation, and zeal, will be useful in the highest degree. At the same time, I could not in fairness press you to engage in a work, of which you might afterwards repent, however deeply I should regret the loss of your services to the Church.

I am going early on Wednesday morning into Kent, on a round of Confirmations, which will keep me out nearly three weeks. But any letter directed to Saltwood, near Hythe, Kent, will reach me towards the end of this week. After you have seen Mr. Stephen you may possibly obtain further particulars from Archdeacon Hale, at the Charter House.

I remain, my dear Sir,
Your faithful and obedient servant,
W. CANTUAR.

I have received a letter from the Bishop of Oxford speaking of you in the kindest and highest terms.

Not only did the uncertainty of income fail to influence him, but he considered the letter as finally fixing his destination (although no appointment was made for many weeks), and under that impression he communicated the fact to his father in commonplace fashion.

LETTER TO WILLIAM SELWYN, ESQ.

ETON COLLEGE, WINDSOR,
July 13*th*, 1841.

MY DEAR FATHER,

A letter from the Archbishop arrived this morning, fixing our destination for New Zealand, with the consent of her Majesty's Government. It has happened most fortunately that my mother has been here to receive the earliest intelligence. We hope that you will come down as soon as you can, as my mother will be so glad to have you with her on the present occasion, if you can be spared from *Nisi Prius*.

We hope to be at Richmond during the holidays, or at least a portion of them.

Many thanks for your kind letter.

I remain,
Your dutiful and affectionate son,
G. A. SELWYN.

The Melbourne Administration had been going through troublous times at this period, in which the question of appointing a Colonial bishop might be expected to be laid aside amid the engrossing questions which involved its own continuance in power. On June 4, 1841, Sir Robert Peel had carried a vote of want of confidence by a majority of one, the numbers being 312—311; whereupon ministers dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country. After the general election, a vote of want of confidence was carried in both Houses, in the Lords on August 24, in the Commons on August 29, whereupon the Ministry resigned, and the second Peel Administration was formed, and Lord Stanley became Colonial Secretary in the room of Lord John Russell.

The change of Ministers did not have any effect in relieving the suspense of the future bishop and his friends: to the latter it was a period of great anxiety, but it was said at the time that Mr. Selwyn's frame of mind was exactly described by the words of Ps. cxii. 8—"His heart is established and will not shrink." Meanwhile anxiety was succeeded by something like indignation on the part of his friends, one of whom ventured to ask a member of the Government the cause of the delay. The answer shows how very little pains were taken by those in authority to sift reports and to ascertain facts, and on how very slight and rotten a thread hung the future career of the great bishop, and consequently the immediate destiny of many Melanesians and New Zealanders.

The cabinet Minister whispered "that the real cause of the delay was a doubt that had been entertained both by the previous and by the present Government, whether Mr. Selwyn was fit for the position: he had been writing some very bigoted articles in the *Quarterly Review* about Roman Catholics, and especially about the Jesuits, and that Lord John Russell had done quite right in not appointing a Fire-eater." The reply was immediately ready, that it was

Sewell, and not Selwyn, who had written the articles in question; whereupon the Minister whistled and said, "Oh if that's the case, it is a very different thing," and in a few days the consent of the Crown was given. Thus it is only reverent to believe that the Divine Head of the Church had guided the selection and overruled the shortsighted prejudices of those in high places, and had assigned to each brother the sphere in which he could most conduce to the glory of God: probably the elder brother would have rendered a smaller measure of service as a missionary bishop, and the younger would have been less distinguished as Margaret Professor of Divinity than he was as Bishop of New Zealand and of Lichfield.

The time that elapsed between his nomination and his departure was fully occupied: there were hosts of questions which each day brought into prominence, and which demanded settlement; there were few precedents to guide him, and of those that existed the majority were untrustworthy and unorthodox. The draft of his Letters Patent which were framed on those of the Bishop of Australia, shocked him by their apparent profanity: a statement of objections, drawn up after consultation with Doctors Hope and Badeley, was sent in to the authorities, but received no attention. The bishop-designate then sought an interview with the Crown lawyers, and succeeded in carrying most of the points for which he chiefly cared, especially that his patent should not be revocable at the pleasure of the Sovereign, a hyper-Papal assumption of power which had been tolerated in all previous documents of the kind, and to this day is to be found in the few remaining cases in which bishops in Crown colonies, having no local legislatures, are still possessed of Letters Patent. Another point for which the bishop contended successfully was the appointment of archdeacons by his own act; these officers, whose duties once formed the subject of a laborious joke in the House of Lords, were, in the view of the Colonial Office, ornamental

dignitaries and their designations merely titles of honour: and as the Sovereign is the fountain of honour, the Letters Patent claimed for the Crown the sole right of distributing such honourable distinctions; but in the mind of the bishop-designate, as the office of the Episcopate had been declared by Venerable Bede to be a "title not of office but of work," so the archdeacon's office, in his diocese at least, was deemed to be "no peacock's feather to distinguish one clergyman above another, but a partnership of helpfulness and work;" and if these were the conditions of selection for such office the choice must be vested not in members of the Government who lived on the other side of the world, but in the bishop whom they were to aid, and who alone could judge of their competence for the position.

Another expression still more offensive he was unable to get removed. He was anxious to get rid of the Erastian expression of the Queen "giving him power to ordain," the profanity of which is only equalled by its absurdity: but the Crown lawyers were inexorable and the Letters Patent, which have since been declared to be utterly valueless, were issued with the offensive clause in the full force of its impotent assumption. Against this preposterous claim the Bishop could only protest, and this he did formally in a document which is probably among the archives of the Colonial Office.

"I think it right, in expressing my readiness to accept the Patent as now framed, to state to your Lordship that, whatever meaning the words of it may be construed to bear, I conceive that those functions which are merely spiritual are conveyed to the bishop by the act of consecration alone."

But if the authorities of the Colonial Office were successful in claiming for the Crown the right to allow a bishop of the Christian Church to confer the *charismata* of the Holy Ghost in the ordination of priests and deacons,

the geographical knowledge of the department was happily deficient, and this ignorance led to the insertion in the said Letters Patent of a blunder which by a mere stroke of the pen invested the Bishop of New Zealand, by the same Royal authority, with the spiritual charge of 68 degrees of latitude more than was intended to be assigned to him: but he took with amused gravity the clerical error which made his diocese to stretch from the 50th degree of S. latitude to the 34th degree of *north*, instead of (as was intended), *south* latitude; and in compliance with the injunction of Archbishop Howley, launched in 1849 a small yacht of 21 tons on these unknown seas, and became the pioneer and apostle of Melanesia.

He was now daily forming plans, the conception of which was made much more difficult by the complications which existed in New Zealand. The New Zealand Company made grants of land to the Church, but it was expected in return that the bishop should fix his head-quarters on the land thus given, or in the towns suggested by the donors, whose property would of course increase proportionately as ecclesiastical or civil centres were formed on it.

He was told that his "popularity would be sacrificed if he did not make his home and build his cathedral" at a certain place. Of course until he had personally gone through the land he could not make his selection, and he determined "to rent a house for his family and to pitch a tent near to it as soon as he landed, and the very next day to begin daily service, never, he hoped, to be interrupted. He meant then to go away and visit all the islands, and when his choice was made to move his tent thither and continue the services, and by its side build a wooden church, and outside of the wooden building to begin to build a chancel of stone in Norman style, and as soon as any part of the stone cathedral was finished the wooden work would be taken down."

However numerous his plans, self found no place in

them, either now or at any other time. One of his sisters writes—

"He was wonderfully skilful in providing for his intended New Zealand life. I recollect sitting up half the night helping him to make a waterproof belt for his watch and pedometer. He meant to swim the rivers, pushing his clothes in front of him."

On Sunday, October 17, he was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Barbados, the last-named prelate preaching the sermon. It was surely a great occasion, and it might have been so used as to have greatly impressed the whole Church, but the authorities of those days had not learned the value of opportunities. Mr. Selwyn wished that the service might be in the Abbey, and herein was in advance of his fellows. It is impossible now to go back to the seclusion and the dulness of the private Chapel at Lambeth, when we have witnessed the solemn and impressive ceremonial of the consecration service as it is to be seen, at present, only in S. Paul's Cathedral; but in 1841 it was considered to be impossible to use the Abbey or S. Paul's, and of his numerous friends many were unable to gain admission: as it was, the chapel was crowded to a degree never remembered on a similar occasion; "and the ladies were not allowed to communicate, lest the service should be too long and fatiguing."

Zeal and devotion are contagious, and it is not remarkable that many men of highest gifts, intellectual and spiritual, offered themselves to the leader of so great a work as lay before the first bishop of New Zealand. Among those who were thus moved to volunteer was one who felt bound, in justice to the work in which he was then engaged, while making the offer, to defer the fulfilment of his pledge until it could be done without injury to others. Among the reforms which were instituted at

Eton about this time, the foremost and most urgent was the improvement of the condition of the collegers; they were better housed and better fed; a proper staff of servants "abrogated much of the elaborate code of unwritten law which fixed the relations of master and fag, and the boys were relieved from the crushing weight of a traditional discipline, most hurtful to individual development."[1] But these reforms would have been incomplete and futile but for the decision that a master should sleep under the same roof as the collegers and maintain discipline. To quote from a work that may be considered an authentic history: "In the ordinary course of things, an appointment of the kind, only worth about 200*l.* a year, might have been given to some young master little accustomed to deal with boys. Every one therefore doubly honoured the noble self-sacrifice of so experienced a teacher as Mr. Abraham in giving up an overflowing house to take the novel position of 'assistant-master in college.' To his personal influence we must in great measure ascribe the immense change in the moral tone of the King's scholars. Without intruding on any one, he walked about in the evening and made the boys his friends, and without the display of any peremptory authority, helped to modify materially the system of fagging."

The immediate interests of his pupils and two years later the successful establishment of this reform, detained Mr. Abraham in England, while his own wish would have led him to accompany his friend; the two duties were weighed in the balance, and it was decided that each must stand in its order. The bishop fully recognised the prior claim of Eton, but the offer cheered his heart, and for the next nine years there are frequent allusions in his letters which show how, amid disappointments and sorrows, he leaned with confidence on the fulfilment of the promise

[1] *Eton College*, by H. C. Maxwell-Lyte. Macmillan, 1875.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 422.

which had been made. And here it may be stated that in 1850, when the work in Eton was completed, and the gratitude of the collegers took the visible form of a Font in the restored Collegiate Church, "as a tribute of regard for Mr. C. J. Abraham," the pledges given so long before were fulfilled, and for eighteen eventful years, as head of the College of St. John, as Archdeacon, and as Bishop of Wellington, a trusted counsellor and friend was ever at the command of the Bishop of New Zealand.

This offer of service was made to the bishop two days after his consecration, and the following letter has an especial value and interest. It is impossible to read either letters or sermons of Bishop Selwyn without being impressed by the depth of his spiritual character. The same impression was conveyed by his conversation; but in common with all the truest saints, there was ever a reserve and a reticence which restrained him from speaking freely about himself: in this case out of the abundance of his heart he wrote to his friend, and the letter is a beautiful outpouring of his own devout soul, and shows in what spirit he was going to his great work.

Letter to Rev. C. J. Abraham.

Eton College, Windsor,
Oct. 20th, 1841.

My dear Abraham,

I am quite overwhelmed with joy at your letter, and have just risen from my knees after having poured forth my thankfulness to God for His special mercies to His Church. When I think of the position in which the course of His providence has placed me, as foremost in a mighty movement, at which "the multitude of the isles" will be glad; when I think of the fulfilment of the promise that the Word should go forth into the uttermost parts of the earth; and read that fulfilment in the establishment of my own branch of Christ's Universal Church;

I tremble at the thought of my weakness, and though I know the sufficiency of Divine Grace, still I long for brethren of a like mind, to share with me the labours and the joys of the coming harvest.

Men talk of sacrifices as a loss. I thank God that the enlarged comprehension of His scheme of mercy, which He has lately given me, has made me feel that no worldly advancement could compensate for the loss of one single moment of the peaceful and thankful and yet humble state of mind which I have enjoyed since the scales of all earthly objects of desire fell from my eyes. It is because I feel that this is no less the path of happiness than of duty that I encourage you to cherish the feelings in which your letter was written; to dwell upon them; and in the end to act upon them; not on the spur of the present occasion, but with the calm, deep, and deliberate devotion of a balanced judgment. Men think enthusiasm necessary to missionary enterprise. May we be enabled to show that the highest range of spiritual thought, the most entire and uncompromising obedience to the letter of the Gospel, being no more than our bounden duty, is compatible with the most perfect evenness of mind, and with the most subdued and rational exercise of the understanding.

Pray let me have an opportunity of talking more fully than I can write on this subject; but as a guide to our conversation, I add a few leaders of thought.

Being called to the Episcopate at an early age, I feel at liberty, in submission to Providence, to look forward to a long course of pastoral superintendence over the Church of New Zealand. In that course many great and important changes must occur, for which I must be prepared. After much discussion with Government, I have gained the full power of organizing my own diocese, without interference on the part of the State. With regard to my own part of the organization, I have solemnly dedicated all that I am to the permanent establishment of the bishopric. Could I find a few men like yourself, who would silently work with me by the devotion of themselves, and their means, to the same cause, we should see year after year parish after parish, archdeaconry after archdeaconry, start into life, not with the mere appurtenances of temporal

endowment, but with the provision of a living head to give life and spirit to the institution. The substance therefore of my proposition is this:

"Will you be now one of the feeders of my Church, with the view of being in course of time one of its pastors? Your continuance at Eton, which I believe to be at present deeply important to the interests of the school, will also enable you to carry out the plan of the temporal endowment of an archdeaconry, to which when you shall have given of your goods, you will be ready to say:

"*Memet super ipse dedissem.*"

Believe me to be,
My dear Abraham,
Your affectionate and grateful friend,
G. A. N. ZEALAND.

On October 26, the bishop took his degree of D.D. at Cambridge, and the ceremony was one of unusual solemnity and interest. It is recorded that "when he knelt down before the Vice-Chancellor it was a noble sight. Dr. Turton, the Regius Professor of Divinity, made an admirable speech in Latin, alluding to Constantine, to the missionary labours of England, to the bishop's own zeal, to his high qualifications, and to the fine prospects before him." Here he was joined by his friend and chaplain, the Rev. T. Whytehead. October 31 was his last Sunday at Eton, and was an occasion of solemn and memorable interest to all concerned. Forty guests assembled at the house of his staunch friend, Mr. Edward Coleridge, drawn by ties of long-standing affection to bid the youthful prelate God-speed. If a man is known by his friends, the gathering on this day bore striking testimony to the character of the bishop. There were those who had attained the highest honours in their several callings, and others who have since realized the promises of their earlier years. Two judges, than whom the bench has had no nobler representatives, Coleridge and Patteson; the

future Bishop of Oxford and Winchester, then recently appointed Archdeacon of Surrey (Samuel Wilberforce); the present Lord Coleridge and Mr. Justice Cotton, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Durnford, now Bishop of Chichester, and Mr. Chapman, who four years afterwards became the first Bishop of Colombo, were among the guests: the host, in proposing the bishop's health, said with much emotion that "he had not a single good feeling which had not been deepened and improved by intercourse with George Selwyn." The parish church of Windsor, the scene for some years of his labours, was crowded all day. Archdeacon Wilberforce preached in the morning on the Unity of the Church: there were nearly 300 communicants; the bishop preached in the evening. His text was a favourite one, on which he often preached: "Thine heart shall fear and be enlarged, because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces also of the Gentiles shall come unto thee;" and when he spoke of going out to found a Church and then to die neglected and forgotten, the pent-up feeling of the people who loved him could not be restrained. In the afternoon "to revive old recollections with Chapman," who preached, he said the prayers and baptized some children; in fact he hardly left the church for the whole day. On the Monday he again spoke at the meeting of the Windsor and Eton Church Union, which had been founded by himself, and was received with much affection.

Much of what he said was written down at the time, and the "Notes" of his speech were published in the following form:—

"I would willingly have brought this memorable year to a conclusion in my native land; but it has otherwise seemed good to God. It will ever be memorable by reason of an act, which may, I trust, be one step toward the re-establishment of godly discipline in our Church—a recurrence to the system of pure and apostolic times. The act to which I refer is the meeting of many of our

bishops for the purpose of sending to our colonies which have a civil governor, but no spiritual ruler, men imbued with powers like our own. I looked upon this as the the first exercise of her lawful authority in a collective character; and I asked myself, What is the duty of every priest? There could be but one reply,—To obey. To test my own feelings, I put to myself what then seemed to me to be of all the most improbable case, that I should ever be called upon to go; and the answer could be but this,—I am ready. In order to try myself further, I put this further question,—Are you ready to go wherever you are sent? A similar answer was given,—I am ready. Are you ready to go even into the centre of Africa, though it be morally certain that within a few years your bones will be bleaching together with those who have perished in those pestilential sands? I was prepared to go even to Sierra Leone, to cancel, as far as my efforts might, one item of the debt of sin and woe which England's commercial prosperity had entailed upon the sons of Africa. I thought, that should I refuse to go, the bones of those who fell in Walcheren would rise up in judgment against me. Many of you know not where Walcheren is, but you must have heard of Chusan; many of those whose bodies are still wasting on the isle of Chusan would rise up in judgment against me; for there the British arms have been sullied by the most ignoble and humiliating warfare in which this country was ever engaged, and yet not a soldier refused to go, even into that warfare the principle of which he could not approve. And should any soldier of Christ refuse to go to support a cause to which he has been pledged by a far more solemn engagement? So when I heard that, not the shores of Africa, but that land of promise, New Zealand—a land literally flowing with milk and honey—was to be mine, there was no doubt, no hesitation, no fear; enlargement of heart alone was mine, that, through my humble instrumentality, the abundance of the isles might be converted unto God."

Oxford conferred on him the degree of D.D., *honoris causâ*, and his visit to that university enabled him to

renew his acquaintance with his old schoolfellow, J. H. Newman.

On November 7, he took part in the consecration of the Rev. M. S. Alexander as "Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem." The circumstance caused some surprise to his friends, and the mention of it in these pages may be a matter of regret to those who here learn it for the first time. It is due therefore to the memory of the bishop to record that "the request that he should assist at the consecration found him reluctant to accede to it, that he had grave doubts as to the propriety of the measures connected with the establishment of that See, but that he consented only on the understanding with the Archbishop, that by so doing he did not pledge himself to any approval of the measure beyond that of a bishop being sent to minister to English residents in Jerusalem, and to confer with the authorities of the Greek Church." These indeed were the functions which he had considered as specially justifying the erection of a bishopric of Malta (or Gibraltar), in which he felt very warm interest. He was startled, however, by the preacher, who dilated at great length "on the re-establishment of a bishop in the line of the Circumcision," and who also declared that the Greek Church was "idolatrous."

The circumstance that the Archbishop asked the preacher to print the sermon much vexed Bishop Selwyn. He thought "the point about the Bishop of the Circumcision unsound and unscriptural;" but as it was mere theory he did not feel it to be so important: but the charge of idolatry against the Greek Church he thought "very dangerous." After the consecration he sat next to the preacher at luncheon and talked over the whole matter, and he left him having a hope that if the sermon were published, the accusation which had been made against the Greek Church would be omitted. It would seem that the bishop, whose life had for some years been divided between

parochial work and theological study was now for the first time brought face to face with opinions and people of whom he had hitherto had no experience. Chevalier Bunsen was present at the luncheon, and in returning thanks for the health of the King of Prussia, among other extraordinary utterances, said:

(1). "That as every other Church was represented in the East, so ought Protestants to be." (2). "That he hoped the time would soon come when all Protestant bodies would be united."

There was no lingering on the bishop's part, when the needful preliminaries had been completed. He arranged to sail early in December, but, as commonly happens with sailing ships, delays occurred, and it was not until S. Stephen's Day that the ship left Plymouth Sound. The few intervening weeks were fully occupied, and in the many utterances of the bishop, whether in pulpit or on platform, in different parts of the country, there was evident to all the well-considered system on which he proposed to work, and the strict consistency between the theories which as a priest he had formed, and the action which as a bishop he proposed to take. His plans were clear as a well-drawn diagram: he went forth intending to apply ancient precedents to new circumstances; he aimed at nothing original or novel, although no man was more ready or competent to adapt himself to altered circumstances, but he was content with adapting already existing and proved materials. His theories were strictly speaking not theories, but principles, which had been tested and approved by holy men of old: his was a mind of unusual sagacity, but he was superior to the temptation (if it existed) to give the rein to his own originality and to think that it was in his power to improve on the examples of the great evangelists of the world. Thus he was always congratulating himself on the unique position which he occupied, "a position such as was never granted to any English bishop before, with a

power to mould the institutions of the Church from the beginning according to true principles."

The cathedral as the centre of all life and organization was insisted on now, when the practical difficulties in the way confronted him daily, with as much earnestness as when from the quiet of Eton he published his memorable letter on the Duties of Cathedral Bodies. One of the last sermons which he preached was in the cathedral at Exeter on December 12, and by not a few who heard it has never been forgotten. The text "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" (Ps. cxxxvii. 4), furnished the preacher with an opportunity of setting forth his own plans, and among them the cathedral centre occupied the chief place. These were his concluding words:

"May we have both the spirit to preach the Gospel and the strength to arise and build the Temple of the Lord! May we also have our cathedral church, in which we may sing the Lord's song with a voice of melody! And may God grant that from that central reservoir we may pour forth streams of living water to feed the sheep whom God has given to our care. There may the young be taught and the servant of Christ be trained up for His ministry; there may the books of the holy Fathers of the Church minister to the godly learning of every succeeding generation; there may the elders of the Church sit in council for the public good, and there may the ordinances of daily prayer and weekly communion shadow forth the unwearied service of the angels of God; there, too, may the hungry be fed, and the naked clothed, and the sick healed; and, above all, there may the poor have the Gospel preached to them."

It must be added in fairness that his highest anticipations he never realised. He had never even in rudiment a cathedral church or body: up to the year 1854 St. John's College fulfilled some of the most important functions of a cathedral body, but not afterwards.

Archbishop Howley when taking leave of him at Lambeth urged him to do what he could to extend the knowledge of the Gospel to the scattered islands of the Pacific, and on this apostolic commission rather than on the clerical error in his Letters Patent already mentioned he based the obligation, the fulfilment of which led him first, and afterwards Bishop Patteson, to the toils of the Melanesian mission. In addition to kindly words and deeds (for the good primate gave the departing bishop a large sum of money towards the purchase of a diocesan ship), the Archbishop addressed the following valedictory letter on behalf of himself and his suffragans, in which the duty of the New Zealand Church to the islands of the Pacific is stated in very cogent terms, terms which to a man of Bishop Selwyn's disposition, in which obedience was ever a ruling principle, were equivalent to a command.

LAMBETH, *Nov. 30th*, 1841.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have been requested by such of the bishops as attended the last meeting of the Committee appointed to manage the funds for the endowment of bishoprics in the colonies, to address a valedictory letter to your Lordship expressive of their personal respect, and of the deep interest they take in your high and holy mission.

There is not, I am persuaded, a prelate of our united Church who would not have joined in this demonstration of good-will to yourself and to the great cause to which you have devoted your talents and energies, had it been in my power to call them together at this season. I could not indeed have suffered you to depart without repeating the assurances of my friendly regard and esteem, and of my confidence in your ability, zeal, and discretion, which were grounded originally on the report of others, and which have since been confirmed and greatly increased by personal intercourse.

I am better satisfied, however, to speak in behalf of my brothers as well as myself, as the testimony of many will naturally be more gratifying to your Lordship.

The mission over which you preside is founded on the recognition of a principle which, unfortunately, has not always been acted on in the first establishment of our Colonies. Whilst towns have been built and wilds have been cultivated, whilst ample provision has been made for defence against enemies, and the administration of justice, no adequate care has in the first instance been taken for the religious and moral improvement of the settlers or natives. The Colonists have been abandoned to dissent or infidelity, the Aborigines in some cases consigned to almcst total extinction. Your Lordship will have the great satisfaction of laying the foundation of civilized society in New Zealand, on the basis of an Apostolical Church and a pure religion.

On your arrival you will be surrounded by a body of clergy prepared under your directions to minister to the spiritual wants of the settlers, and to impart the blessings of the Christian faith to the native tribes.

As the population is multiplied, the number of ministers will be increased in proportion, and the incorporation of all classes within the pale of our Church may, with the blessing of God, be the happy result of their exertions. Nor can our views be confined within the limits at present assigned to the exercise of your spiritual authority. Your mission acquires an importance exceeding all calculation when your See is regarded as the central point of a system extending its influence in all directions, as a fountain diffusing the streams of salvation over the islands and coasts of the Pacific: as a luminary to which nations enslaved and debased by barbarous and bloody superstitions will look for light.

In these glorious prospects your Lordship will find support and encouragement amidst the trials and difficulties of various kinds, which as you have not engaged without forethought in this arduous service, you are fully prepared to encounter. The consciousness of going forth in the name of the Lord as the messenger of mercy and peace will reconcile you to the sacrifices you have made in obedience to the call from on High. The prayers of your friends, the pious, the good, and the philanthropic, will be offered up for your safety and comfort, and for the complete success of your ministry; and by none more sincerely and

heartily than by myself, and by the prelates in whose names I write.

Among the blessings which will lighten your labours there is one which I mention, not for the purpose of increasing your sense of its value, which you know from experience, but in order to gratify my own feelings in regard to the amiable daughter of the late excellent Judge Richardson, and, as it appears to Mrs. Howley and myself, the inheritress of his estimable qualities. The influence of Mrs. Selwyn's kindness and piety will, I am persuaded, not only promote the comfort and happiness of her domestic circle, but will be extensively useful in bettering the condition and improving the morals of all who come within its sphere.

I must now conclude with assuring you that you may at all times depend on my disposition to render you all the assistance in my power. I venture to say as much for the Bishops in general, and for the great Missionary Societies in connection with the Church.

Looking forward to the pleasure of hearing from you as soon after your landing as you may find leisure to write, I most heartily commend your Lordship, your family, and all the clergy in your train, to the protection of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the guidance of His Holy Spirit.

I remain,

My dear Lord,

Your affectionate Brother and Friend,

W. CANTUAR.

The *Tomatin*, the ship in which the bishop and his party were to sail, was detained in the Channel by contrary winds for many days; during this period of waiting the bishop was the guest of the late Sir T. D. Acland, at Killerton, near Exeter. Day by day the bishop came to Exeter and worshipped in the cathedral, and on Saturday December 18th he went to Plymouth, where the *Tomatin* arrived on the following morning. On Sunday the bishop preached twice in the Church of St. Andrew, and each morning during his enforced sojourn at Plymouth he went to the early service, accompanied by the clergy and the catechists who were going out with him. Each day was declared to be

the day of sailing, and the continued suspense was most trying. One by one friends and relatives took leave and returned to their own duties, the approaching Christmas-tide making it absolutely necessary for the clergy to get home to their parishes. Canon Selwyn left on the 22nd, and to him on parting his brother gave a Bible, writing on the first page, "Ready to depart on the morrow." His whole spiritual life was so nurtured in the Holy Scriptures that apposite texts were always at his command without effort. Mrs. Selwyn's brother parted from her on the same day. The Rev. Edward Coleridge, who remained to the last, recorded many of the events of these anxious days in his diary, and by his permission they are here reproduced:

"*December 22nd.*—We spent a *comfortable* evening with them, Dr. Yonge and the Eton brethren coming in to enlarge the circle round the tea-table. After dinner we drank *Floreat Etona*, and in necessary connection with that toast Dr. Keate's health. About nine o'clock Mr. Cole, whom we had been anxiously expecting, arrived from Andover. The whole party was then collected, and nothing now seemed likely to prevent their sailing on the morrow but the wind being unfavourable. We did not kneel down to prayers till eleven o'clock. The bishop used the greater part of the form of prayer to be used at sea, intermingling some collects from other parts of the Liturgy.

"*December 23rd.*—This has been indeed a most deeply interesting day. Such a day as we can scarcely ever expect to see again. At ten o'clock we were all with one accord in St. Andrew's church, the clergy to the number of forty, in their robes, and sitting together. Mr. Hatchard read the prayers: the Old Hundredth Psalm was sung, the bishop and Whytehead officiated at the altar. The former preached a most affecting sermon on St. Matt. xxvi. 29. Some two hundred persons received the sacrament. After the communion the bishop, accompanied by all the clergy present, went down the church to the vestibule, or ante-chapel, where a very proper address was read and presented to him by Nutcombe Oxenham.

The Address was in the following terms:

"We, the undersigned Clergy, resident in the town and neighbourhood of Plymouth, crave for a few moments your attention. We crave it at this solemn time, when your Lordship has just concluded with your blessing this last service, as it seems, which you are likely to attend in an English Church before you leave the shores of your native land, and when within a few hours of embarking for that distant country in which it has pleased God to appoint you to superintend His Church. At such a time we feel, that if our hearts be full, our words should be few. We feel also that there are more private, yet hallowed considerations, deeply interesting to your own mind, in which, so far as we can bear sympathy, we shall best express it by silence. But when we think of the great object of your mission—when we remember the special character in which you go forth as an anointed Bishop in Christ's Holy Catholic Church, venturing to those coasts whereon the shadow of death has so long rested, and the light of the Gospel so recently and partially arisen, to plant the Church for the first time in her integrity, and be a mighty instrument (we trust) in the hand of the Most High, for advancing His glory, and promoting the salvation of souls through Jesus Christ; when we regard the many thousands, both of natives and colonists, among whom (if it please God) you will long labour as a Missionary Bishop, and the head, under Christ, of the Church in those parts, not only are our hearts filled with strong feelings, but we think we may not unfitly attempt briefly to express them. Sure are we that you agree with us in being thankful to God for that He has put it into the mind and will of the members of our Church to be increasingly zealous in fulfilling His command, that we should 'make disciples of all nations,' and that in His name His ministers should proclaim 'Peace to him that is afar off as well as to him that is nigh.' We humbly thank our God for this increase of zeal evinced in many ways; and especially we will now refer to the wise and earnest efforts made for the multiplication of our Colonial Bishoprics. We rejoice that these efforts have been made, and for the success which has even already attended them. We rejoice that we have now the privilege of saluting with a Christian farewell

and of commending to the grace of God the first-fruit of these recent efforts—the first Bishop of our Church in New Zealand. May God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and his Spirit, guard, guide, and keep you in all your ways. May He bless you and yours, and all dear to you in your native, and in your future country. May He, above all, make you, as a Christian Shepherd and Bishop, a blessing to all those on whose eternal interests we are well convinced that you will watch as one that shall give account hereafter of his stewardship. And, finally, for we may not detain you with more words, whether it please God that we meet again on earth or not, may our prayers, one for another, meet ever at the throne of God, and before that throne may we at last stand together with our flocks, both joined in one blessed company for ever. God grant it, for His dear Son's sake."

Mr. Coleridge's journal continues :

"The bishop was evidently much affected, but notwithstanding this he made a most pertinent, dignified, and affectionate reply. Everybody was much moved. It could not be otherwise, for there were passages in his reply enough to try any heart. All crowded round him and besought him to shake hands with them and to bless them individually, so that he was some time in making his way through them back to the vestry. Indeed it is quite delightful to see the moral influence he has gained in this place within so short a time, and how many hearts he has drawn towards him and his holy cause. Owing to some mistake Mrs. Selwyn did not hear the address presented and answered, but returned to her lodgings directly the service was over. The Eton brethren all walked home with the Bishop. At two precisely some of the party with baggage, &c. went to the Barbican and embarked in the Trinity House cutter with Captain Nelson, while the Bishop, with Abraham, Balston, and myself, walked to the foot of the Hoe and got aboard the barge of the *Caledonia*, in which we rowed through a gallant sea to the *Tomatin*. I watched the last pebble on which the good man set his foot, and picked it up as one of the last reminiscences of his presence amongst us. After inspecting the ship we dined on board in a manner very satisfactory to every one but ———, who was obliged

to bolt out of the cabin as soon as he had bolted his soup. Finding that the wind continued dead against their sailing that day, we put off again about four o'clock in the Trinity House cutter and returned to shore. We then met at Dr. Yonge's, and round his fireside spent three pleasant hours, though our numbers gradually diminished by the departure one after another of C. Richardson, Abraham, Balston, Durnford, and C. Marriott. Thence I accompanied our dear friends to their lodgings, and helped them to pack their remaining articles, and took down their last instructions on several points. We then knelt down once more together in prayer, and bade each other good night.

"*Friday, December 24th.*—After breakfast I went to the Bishop's, and helped him to prepare for their final embarkation. This done, he and I went to see poor Woof, the Welsh herdsman, who is lying ill at the 'Boot' Inn, and cannot accompany them to New Zealand as he wishes. We then returned to the house, and put Sarah [Mrs. Selwyn], the nurse, and dear baby into a fly, with parcels innumerable; we, the males of the party, walked to the Barbican, where we found Captain Nelson awaiting our arrival with boats and the cutter lying off. Sarah, baby, and nurse were hoisted up in the accommodation chair enveloped in flags.

"After remaining some little time with my dear friends in their cabin, I returned to shore to fetch my wife, and at 3 we again went off in the agent's boat to the ship, to which we were soon followed by Dr. Yonge, who found dear Mrs. Selwyn so unwell that he urged her returning to shore and taking up her abode at his house with us till the wind should become favourable. So, the Bishop agreeing with us that she would be better on shore than on board, we brought her off, and made her snug and comfortable at my good cousin's, who prescribed for her and sent her early to bed.

"*Christmas Day.*—The Bishop had his first service on board this morning. While we were at dinner the Bishop arrived and gave us a very enthusiastic account of his first night on board, of the skill with which he had arranged the cabin, and of the great capabilities which he had discovered in the space allotted to them for their temporary residence. He stayed with us till nearly 8 o'clock, when

I walked with him to the Barbican, and saw him off to the ship. He is already beginning to get his fellow-voyagers into some degree of order, and is arranging their several studies, and setting each his most suitable lesson, so that I doubt not he will make the *Tomatin* one of the first training schools in the world.

"*Sunday, December 26th; Feast of S. Stephen.*—Our beloved friends are gone. While we were at breakfast at Dr. Yonge's the Bishop entered with a cheerful countenance, having come from the ship to announce that the wind was favourable, and that she would sail immediately after Divine Service on board. Accordingly we soon collected those of the passengers who were on shore, and hastened to the Barbican, where we took boat and rowed to the ship. We were soon on board, where all was ready for sailing. In a few minutes we all assembled for Divine Service, and the Bishop, having given notice of the Holy Communion for the next Sunday, concluded, after the prayer for the Church Militant, with a Collect for a safe voyage and a blessing. We all remained on our knees some time after this in perfect silence, and in fervent prayer each for the other's happiness, now that we were about to part for how long God alone knows. This done, we went into the cabin of our dear friends: the Bishop wrote a few lines to his mother and a few words of affection in my Bible,[1] while they were weighing anchor. It was a dire moment of trial, but we all bore it better than I had expected. At half-past 12 we embraced each other fervently as those who did not expect to see each other again in this world, and we tore ourselves away, as the ship was now on her way. Having bidden farewell to Mrs. Martin, to Cotton, Whytehead, the captain and others of the crew, we were lowered into the boat amid the prayers and good wishes of many on board, and in a moment the ship with her goodly freight was on her way. The Bishop, Whytehead, and others stood on the poop looking at and blessing us, the Bishop repeatedly waving his hat around his honoured head. When about a hundred yards off I stood up in the boat and called to him in a

[1] With the readiness which never failed him, the Bishop wrote in Mr. Coleridge's Bible, "When we had taken our leave one of another, we took ship and they returned home again."—Acts xxi. 6.

loud voice, 'God bless you! God bless you! *Floreat Ecclesia! Floreat Etona!*' After landing we stood for some time on the Hoe looking at the *Tomatin* as she crowded her sails and glided away from us, becoming smaller and smaller, but no less an object of the most intense interest. Surely no ship since that which carried S. Paul has ever gone to sea with a holier or more precious freight—none to which every Christian and friend to humanity may more justly address the prayer of Horace [1]—

> 'Navis, quæ tibi creditum
> Debes Virgilium, finibus Atticis
> Reddas incolumem, precor.'

to which I may add—

> 'Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.'" [1]

The good ship could hardly have gone out of sight when this true and warmhearted friend wrote the following brief letter to the late Professor Selwyn:—

S. STEPHEN'S DAY, 2.30.

MY DEAR W. SELWYN,

Precisely at half-past 12 on this auspicious day, and immediately after Divine Service on board, the *Tomatin* weighed anchor and sailed. She is now twenty miles down Channel, with a favourable breeze N.N.W. The Bishop, Sarah, and baby were all well and in good spirits. I have sent your mother the very last words he wrote, and I have preserved the pen with which he wrote them. God bless them and prosper them in their arduous but noble undertaking.

Ever yours heartily,
E. COLERIDGE.

[1] *Odes*, Lib. 1, III. vi.

CHAPTER IV.[1]

NEW ZEALAND: ITS EARLY HISTORY AND COLONIZATION.

THE last chapter has left the Bishop and his party on board the *Tomatin:* it will serve to the better understanding of the difficulties of the work which lay before them, and the many vicissitudes which marked and too frequently hindered its progress, if some account is given of the early history of New Zealand, its aboriginal inhabitants, its early settlers, and the first efforts that were made to compass its evangelization.

Discovered by the Dutch navigator Tasman in 1642, the soil of New Zealand was trodden by no European foot for more than 120 years. Tasman had been unable to effect a landing, and Cook in 1769, having sailed first round it and then through Cook's Straits, and thereby disproved the hypothesis that it was part of a great southern continent, landed on several spots and made acquaintance with the natives. The New Zealanders or Maoris can trace back their genealogy for more than twenty generations, but for their origin we can only turn to the ethnologist and the student of languages. They are believed to be the purest branch of that Polynesian race which had its cradle in the Hawaiian group: to this belief their language, their superstitions, and their traditions all point. They all agree that they came from a

[1] For very much that is contained in this chapter the author desires to acknowledge his obligation to Swainson's *New Zealand.*

country called "Hawaiki," which they describe as lying N.E. of New Zealand; they further agree in the tradition that they were not driven off by stress of weather, but that, being harassed by wars and dissensions, they determined to seek for a new and peaceful shore, and that they embarked in several canoes specially fitted out for the unusual expedition. They also retain the terms of the valedictory address of the patriarch whom they left behind, who impressed on them the duty of abandoning war and following peaceful occupations.

The first immigrants are said to have landed on the Frith of the Thames, but proceeding up the Frith and leaving at many spots names which continue to this day to bear witness to their having visited them, they dragged their canoes across the narrow isthmus which separated the eastern from the western sea, and, sailing southward, they reached Kawhia, a small harbour midway between Manukau and Taranaki, and there they settled, throwing off swarms from time to time along the coasts. The chief of a tribe called the Tainui, who are to be found at Kawhia to this day, claims direct descent from these adventurous founders, and a rock shaped like a canoe is believed to be the petrified 'Tainui' in which their fortunes were borne across the Pacific.

The early colonization of these islands was so fragmentary and irregular as hardly to deserve the name of colonization: it was rather an intercourse between the two races, destined in course of time to see much more of each other, and in which the white race was represented by some of its worst specimens. Whale ships frequented the northern parts in large numbers, and their dealings with the people too often were accompanied by deeds of iniquity, which led to the massacres of innocent victims: the deeds which were considered the reckless and unconsidered acts of unreasoning savages were more frequently the carefully-calculated retaliation and repayment for wanton injuries of which they had been the victims:

runaway sailors, escaped convicts, travelling traders, and adventurous speculators who had left the neighbouring colony of New South Wales, these were the not very creditable representatives of what claimed to be the "superior race" with whom the New Zealanders became acquainted.

The first genuine colonist, that is to say, the first immigrant who came intending to effect a permanent settlement for himself and for his successors, was the Christian missionary, whose strength was in his very weakness, occupying a place by sufferance of the Chief and people who were his protectors and friends: herein New Zealand differs widely from any other colony. Dr. Marsden, a Government Chaplain in New South Wales, had seen something of the Maoris who had come thither, and was possessed by a desire to visit New Zealand in the interests of the spread of the Gospel. For years he was unable to realize his wish: at length in 1814 he made good his landing, and from that time New Zealand was never without a witness for the Truth. But these missionaries were only in one corner of the Northern Island, and were the forerunners of a vast horde of less desirable visitors: in other parts lawless Englishmen vied with each other in their work of making the natives more degraded than they found them.

The necessity of some authorized system of government or colonization became apparent: a Resident was appointed to the Bay of Islands as some sort of check on the British settlers and sojourners who resorted there, but in a foreign country he had no sort of authority, and no means of enforcing his authority if he possessed it. All settlers whose occupations were legitimate petitioned the Crown for protection; but before these complaints and representations reached England an Association had been formed, which, deeply impressed with the evils in question as well as with the importance of New Zealand as a field for colonization, had formed a deliberate project of organizing a

colony on a large scale and on sound principles. The "New Zealand Association" consisted of two classes of persons—(1) heads of families and others who, attracted by a good climate and cheap land, determined to establish themselves in the proposed colony, and make it the England of the Pacific; (2) public men, who, for the sake of public objects alone, were willing to form the executive body who should carry the measure into execution.

The Government in 1837 expressed its willingness to give to the Association a Royal Charter, incorporating it and committing to its members the settlement and government of the projected colony for a term of years, according to the precedent of chartered colonies in the 16th and 17th centuries; but this offer was burdened by the condition that the Association should become a joint-stock trading company, and this the Association, having excluded from its object all idea of private profit, was unable to accept. The chairman, Sir F. Baring, M.P., brought into Parliament a bill "for the Provisional Government of British Settlements in the Islands of New Zealand." The bill proposed to appoint Commissioners under the Crown, who should treat with and purchase land from the natives and convert it into British territory, to be governed by British law; making, however, exceptional laws in favour of the natives to protect them from their own ignorance, and to promote their moral and social improvement. It proposed also to exercise legal authority over all lawless British subjects in all parts of the islands. The Colonial Government was to afford an adequate provision for religious worship of all denominations, and a bishop, to be appointed by the Crown, was to reside in the islands.

The Government opposed the bill, and it did not pass, but the subject received a great deal of attention and was brought prominently before the public by the debate which took place. The New Zealand Association was dissolved and a joint-stock company, calling itself The New Zealand Land Company, which fitted out expeditions and proceeded

to possess itself of large tracts of land, was called into existence. Among the directors were several men of high character, whose motives were purely disinterested and patriotic; there were others "in whose minds sound principles of colonization and colonial government were as nothing compared with pounds, shillings, and pence."[1] Before any lands had been purchased (and of the value of the title of these acres more will be said presently), they offered for sale in England the right of selection of the lands which they expected to acquire, and although the country was, at that time, synonymous with barbarism—and although the directors were officially warned that their proceedings could not be sanctioned by Government—they obtained purchasers in England to the amount of more than 100,000*l.*

Without waiting to hear whether any and what lands and where situated had been purchased by their agent, the Company sent out several ships filled with emigrants, to be deposited wherever land had been procured for their settlement. Here was a seed-plot well and thickly sown with future dissensions and wars; the whole of the land had owners; the natives were perfectly accurate in their knowledge of the boundaries of each property; tracts which to the European appeared worthless were to the Maori of especial value; moreover, the tenure of land was based on tribal not individual ownership. As soon as surveying parties began to cut boundary lines and purchasers took actual possession of their lands, natives from various parts of the country, who knew nothing of any supposed sale, came forward to assert their rights and to oppose the occupation of their land. Neither was the Company's agent the first in the field; old residents, absentee Sydney speculators, land-jobbing adventurers, and some of the agents of the Church Missionary Society, who held more than 100,000 acres, had already procured

[1] Evidence of Mr. E. G. Wakefield before a Committee of the House of Representatives.

from the natives sites that appeared most promising for pasturage, or for the settlements of the future; meanwhile the unhappy Agent, daily expecting shiploads of emigrants from England, all of whom would claim at once to be put in possession of the land for which they had paid, bought land of natives who asserted themselves to be the sole owners, and was soon in a position to report that he had bought the harbour of Port Nicholson, a large tract of the surrounding country, and a considerable portion of the northern part of the Southern Island.

But the agent of the Company knew nothing of the native law of real property, paid no attention to the question of the vendors' title, and learned only by painful experience that "to complete a safe and satisfactory purchase of land from the natives of New Zealand is a work of as much difficulty, requires as much time, careful investigation and knowledge of native law and custom, as to complete the purchase of an English baronial estate."

The Joint Stock Company had urged the Government to establish a colony and to assume supremacy, but for the selfish reason that their land would instantly rise in value manyfold if made part of the British empire. The Church Missionary Society, on the other hand, believing that the occupation of the country by English settlers would prove injurious to the morals of the natives, and would hinder the spread of the Gospel, resisted the idea of colonizing it. There could be no doubt that the example of the reckless adventurers who had found their way into the colony had been wholly bad, but the opposition was unwise, both because the evils already existing were likely to be counteracted by a system of colonization, conducted by responsible persons, and also because to expect to exclude a group of islands nearly 1,000 miles in length from intercourse with the rest of the world, is Utopian and visionary; the objections were strongly supported by evidence given before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1838. The French were contemplating the establish-

ment of a settlement in the islands at this period, and this fact, combined with the representations made to Government that two races were now living side by side, that the emigrants were likely soon to lapse into lawlessness, and that a war of races was imminent, forced upon Parliament the duty of colonizing New Zealand.

Captain Hobson was sent by the Crown "to establish a settled form of civil government," and, while no claim of sovereignty was made, he was instructed to urge on the chiefs the impossibility of extending to them any effectual protection unless the Queen were acknowledged as the sovereign of their country. It was a hard task to persuade the warlike chiefs of a warlike race, to whom restraint had been unknown, to cede to the Crown of England all their rights and powers of sovereignty; they long failed to see that in ceding the sovereignty they did not part with their property in the soil. Striking must have been the scene when, at the assembly of chiefs at Waitangi, Captain Hobson explained to them that "the shadow would go to the Queen and the substance would remain, and that they might rely implicitly on the good faith of Her Majesty's Government."

Many of the chiefs, prompted by disaffected Europeans, opposed the cession of sovereignty with much skill and eloquence. The timely interference of a Northern chief turned the scale. "You must be our father," said Tamati Waka, to Captain Hobson; "you must not allow us to become slaves; you must preserve our customs, and never permit our land to be wrested from us." Thus the majority of the chiefs became parties to the treaty of Waitangi; but many steadily refused, under the belief that if they signed the treaty their lands would be taken from them. They said they had heard of what the British Government had done in America, in New South Wales, and in other colonies. In some instances those who signed the treaty refused to accept any present, lest it might be construed as payment for their land. Before

these negotiations were completed, Captain Hobson heard that the settlers at Port Nicholson had organized a system of government under the native chief; and regarding this as treasonable, he proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty over both islands in February, 1840, without waiting for the completion of the cession; at first it was a dependency of New South Wales, but in November, 1840, it was erected into a separate independent colony.

Captain Hobson had now among his first duties the selection of a site for the seat of government, and his decision earned for him the bitter hostility of the New Zealand Company and their settlers. They had planted their chief settlement at Wellington, but Captain Hobson, knowing that the main object of the establishment of British authority in the islands had been the protection and advancement of the natives, was influenced in his selection by the fact that nineteen-twentieths of the whole Maori population of New Zealand were settled in the Northern Island: the great majority of these were clustered in the northern portion of that island, attracted by a climate congenial to a race whose ancestors had come from a tropical home. Auckland therefore, with its great natural advantages, which made the epithet *bimaris* as appropriate to it as to Corinth in the days of Horace, with water communication radiating in all directions, was chosen as the seat of Government, and all subsequent experience has justified the choice: but the disappointment and hostility of the settlers were increasing, and Captain Hobson is declared to have been "driven into his grave by clamouring competitors." He died in September 1842, having lived to welcome the bishop to New Zealand, and to recognise his fitness for his position. He had said, "What can a bishop do in New Zealand, where there are no roads for his coach?" But when some six weeks after his landing he heard that he had come overland to Auckland on foot, he said, "Ah, that's a very different thing. He is the right man for the post."

There was one problem which the Government, the Bishop, and all friends of humanity had to solve: in New Zealand a great experiment was about to be tried on a large scale: it was no less than this, "whether a fragment of the great human family, long sunk in heathen darkness, could be raised from its state of social degradation, and maintained and preserved as a civilized people? whether it were possible to bring two distinct portions of the human race, in the opposite conditions of civilization and barbarism, into immediate contact, without the destruction of the uncivilized race?" The work of deterioration had already commenced: the heathen had become familiar with the vices which the professing Christians had introduced: but along with this deterioration the missionary had brought the salt of Christianity, and out of the mass had raised a considerable body of Christians whose consistent lives were a witness to the reality of their conversion. The ministers of the Crown had given a pledge that in New Zealand the natives should be defended from that process of extermination which in other lands had followed in the steps of the white man, and to the fulfilment of this pledge all right thinking men gave their energies.

But their efforts were immediately thwarted by the results of the New Zealand Company's precipitate action in selling land which they had themselves never bought. The deluded settlers had no remedy: appeals to the Crown for protection were fruitless: the Queen had by the Treaty of Waitangi "confirmed and guaranteed to the chiefs of New Zealand the exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands." The New Zealand Company had not only not received so much as a tacit permission from the Crown—but they had been distinctly warned, before the sailing of their expedition, that their actions could not be recognised and that no pledge could be given that the titles of any lands purchased of the natives would be admitted by Her Majesty: in fact, the Company had boasted that they

"colonized New Zealand in spite of the Government." It was impossible that any long time should elapse without the disputed land claims developing into quarrels, and, where one party were savages, into bloodshed: and in 1843 the dispute at Wairau led to a fierce engagement, in which the first party to fire was not the Maoris but the Englishmen who were also the first to run away in great disorder, although numerically superior. The defeat of the English on this occasion lowered the estimate which the Maoris had hitherto formed of their prowess: emboldened by their victory at the Wairau in 1843, they two years later did not hesitate to measure their strength in the open field against disciplined English troops. Kororareka was destroyed—the flag-staff cut down—the military blockhouse taken; the soldiers, seamen, and civil population took refuge on board ship, and the whole of the humiliating and painful scene "was enacted within range of the silent guns, and in the unmoved presence of a foreign ship of war." Martial law was proclaimed, but for two years, 1845—1847, peace was a stranger to the land. From time to time wars broke out, and culminated in the terrible war and accompanying apostasy of 1863, and the native difficulty, which was an euphemism for the land question, was at the root of all. These events will find their proper place in the following pages, but this brief mention of them here is essential to any sketch of the position which the Bishop of New Zealand and his clergy filled. The missionaries had been called on by Governor Hobson to use their influence with the natives to persuade them to accept the Waitangi Treaty: they pledged their own credit that its terms would be scrupulously kept, and when it was found that the Government proposed to repudiate it and to take possession of all unoccupied land in the country, the missionary body were placed in a position of much embarassment, and their influence for good was compromised. The Maoris would have shed the last drop of their blood for the inheritance of their tribe; but they were quite willing to sell

large tracts of land for a price that was only nominal, and by such a recognition of their title peace might in all cases have been preserved. As the Bishop wrote in a Pastoral Letter in 1855, "Nothing is easier than to extinguish the native title; nothing will be more difficult than to extinguish the native war."

Enough has been said to show that the Maoris, savages as they became on small provocations, and cannibals as they had been up to a recent date, were a race of great capacity. British officers declared them to be as soldiers equal to any people in the world: lawyers and statesmen who had to deal with their claims for land found that they argued their case with astuteness and eloquence; and the missionaries after nine years of fruitless toil discovered that, when once they could get them under their influence, they showed religious susceptibilities of a remarkable kind. Their Pantheon is a large one. Everything is invested with supernatural power, and every circumstance of their lives is supposed to be directed by an ever active, ever present Divine agency. They have Gods of the day and of the night; innate powers in earth and heaven, which separate the firmament from the land. Every tribe worships some one or more of its departed ancestors, whom it consults with much reverence as an oracle on matters of grave importance, and the 'Atua' has been supposed to answer in a mysterious sound, "half whisper, half whistle." The Tapu which prevails over the whole of the Pacific Ocean, and of which some traces are to be found even in Madagascar, was no childish arbitrary custom entailing needless restraint and inconvenience. The Spirit of their most honoured relative was to their belief the guardian of their family, and his Atua was thought to take an active interest in the ordinary affairs of their lives: the things which were under the Tapu were supposed to be things in which this Spirit or some portion of it had rested, and it was a reverent feeling which guarded against the sacrilege involved in touching it. A strange circumstance, and one

which had much to do both with their facile, though at first tardy, reception of Christianity and their subsequent apostasy, was the fact that when the Missionaries first brought the Gospel to the Maoris they consulted their Atuas whether the white teacher's message was true, and in every case they received an affirmative answer.

It was while the Maoris were in the full zeal and ardour which is the characteristic of the neophyte, and before the seeds sown by the worst disposed of the settlers had begun to bear fruit, that Bishop Selwyn arrived in his diocese. As far as spiritual things were concerned his prospects were very bright: the clergy welcomed him cordially: even those who would rather have continued in the old way, with no bishop to counsel or guide, were won by his personal charms when they came to look on him and to know him; and the Maori people, who were the bishop's chief care and attraction, were eager to assimilate his teaching, and to receive the spiritual gifts which were his to confer. The Bible and Prayer-book had been translated into the vernacular, and many churches had been built. Humanly speaking, that the Church of New Zealand survived the terrible shocks which in subsequent years it was made to endure, was owing to the fact that, as Bishop Broughton had advised in 1838, the Church had been planted in the full integrity of its system, and a bishop had landed on the shore of New Zealand as soon as it became a colony, and so had anticipated the full force of the evils which follow in the train of immigration. The bishop fully realized the bright prospect before him at the first, and was ever

> "Haunting a holy text, and still to that
> Returning as a bird returns at night."

His favourite text was (Ps. xvi. v. 7), "The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground: yea, I have a goodly heritage."

CHAPTER V.

SYDNEY AND NEW ZEALAND.

[1842—1843.]

THE bishop's party on board the *Tomatin* consisted of his two chaplains—Mr. Cotton, a student of Christ Church, and Mr. Whytehead, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Messrs. Cole, Dudley, and Reay, missionary clergy; three catechists, Messrs. Butt, Evans, and Nihill; and a schoolmaster and mistress. Another clergyman, the Rev. B. Lucas Watson, was also on board, bound for Australia. A not unimportant passenger was a Maori lad, by name Rupai, who had been brought to England and placed under the care of a clergyman at Battersea, with a view to his being properly educated. Him the bishop eagerly sought out, and engaged his services as a living grammar and lexicon, just as years afterwards both Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson were wont to use the Melanesian lads whom they brought from their native islands. It is commonly said that the leisure on board ship, to which busy people look forward as a time in which to overtake arrears of reading or writing, is not conducive to profitable work, and that it requires a really resolute will to accomplish much under these conditions. To the bishop and his party it was no idle time, neither were the results inconsiderable,—but what was done, and how the time was employed, and what were the mishaps of the voyage, are best told in the bishop's

own words in the two letters which he wrote to his mother, and sent, the one by a passing ship, the other on his arrival at Sydney. A third brief letter, earlier in point of time, was written on board a small brig, the *Retrench*, on January 11, 1842, in "Tropic of Cancer; long. 21·9 W." They had left the *Tomatin* in calm weather, without any intention of coming on board, and so had not brought with them their unfinished letters; but as the vessel would part company when a breeze sprang up, he wrote a few lines to his mother, and intrusted the letter to the captain of the brig, which was bound to Sierra Leone, and thence to England.

The following letters tell their own tale:—

SHIP "TOMATIN,"
Lat. 6 N., Long. 21 W.
Jan. 18, 1842.

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

The hurried note which I sent by the brig *Retrench* will, I hope, have reached you; though as it was to go by way of Sierra Leone, it may have been delayed. We have had a most delightful passage to this point of our voyage, with the wind continually fair since we left England; and never too strong to produce any serious inconvenience to Sarah or myself. In the three days preceding last Sunday at noon we ran 600 geographical miles, or ten degrees of latitude; and though we expected the wind to fail us in lat. 10 N., we are still going on at the rate of five geographical miles an hour. The present state of the temperature would not suit you, as the thermometer where I am sitting is 79°; but, as the fresh breeze still continues, the heat is not very oppressive.

I proceed now to give you an account of our proceedings. We set sail on the afternoon of Sunday, December 26th, with a fair wind from the north and a most beautiful sky overhead, which made Plymouth Harbour look most lovely, and enabled us to go away with the most pleasing recollection of the last sight of our native country.

Mr. and Mrs. Coleridge stayed with us till we were in full sail out of the harbour, and then took a most affectionate leave of us. We passed the Breakwater about

one, and were off the Lizard Lighthouse at 10 P.M. This was our last glimpse of anything belonging to England, and I remained on deck watching it as it appeared from time to time when the ship rose upon the waves, till at last its reappearances became less and less frequent; and even the tenth wave failed to bring us within sight of it, and we saw it no more. We are now watching the Pole-star with the same interest, as in two or three days it will sink beneath the horizon. But the constellations which we used to see low in the south, but which are now blazing over our heads, will still unite us together in thought by the "bands of Orion, and the sweet influences of the Pleiades." We have not yet had a favourable view of the Southern Cross, or of its neighbour the southern triangle, as they come to the meridian in the day time. Nothing of any particular note occurred during our first week, most of the party being unwell, not including Sarah and myself, who have not been disturbed. Little William was uncomfortable for one day, but soon recovered.

Our first Sunday on board was most delightful. I had given notice of the communion at the service on the 26th, which some thought rather premature, as we could not be sure of our weather; but when the 2nd January came, we celebrated divine service on board in such a calm as fell upon the sea of Galilee, when Jesus said to its troubled waters, Peace, be still. Our church was arranged thus: Our communion-table was spread with Mr. Mackarness's altar service-books and Mr. Few's communion plate, with a cloth given to me by one of my parishioners in Windsor. We had the full service with communion, and prayed for you all, as I doubt not we were remembered in your prayers. In the evening we had prayers in the dining-room, the darkness having prevented an evening service on deck, and as the ship hours of dinner are between one and five.

I forgot to mention that we had service on the poop deck on the morning of the Circumcision, and in the same manner on the Epiphany. Last Sunday we began evening prayers on the poop deck at six, and hope to have full service next Sunday, as our days are now lengthened two hours.

You would be much pleased with our church. I and my

chaplain sit at the part of the ship which is used for our communion-table, which is covered with a red flag. The capstan, covered with another flag, is our pulpit and desk, and the seats are arranged round, covered with all the ship's signals. Sarah leads the hymns and psalms, which are well sung, as four of our gentlemen are practised singers, and several of the steerage passengers join in good tune. Dr. Blyth's Psalmody is our text-book.

I have already given you a programme of our week-day employments. Soon after sailing I gave notice that I should open school on the first Monday in the new year, allowing a week for sickness and convalescence. Accordingly on Monday, January 3, we began regular habits: reading the daily prayers at eight in the morning, and the Psalms and Lessons, in the original languages, each at their appointed hour. Besides this, there is a New Zealand class, comprising nearly all the party, and a mathematical class for the study of navigation. The whole of the morning is thus occupied, leaving the evening to the discretion of the party, and for preparation for the next day. On Church festivals, when the full service is read, the Eton practice of a whole holiday is followed. The advantage of this regular plan is generally admitted, as, instead of the voyage being tedious, very few find the day long enough. My father will explain to you this description of our life—

"Excepto, quod non simul esses, cætera lœtus."

We have taken different departments for the study of the New Zealand language. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Reay are making a Concordance of the native Testament. I am compiling from the Rarotonga, Tahitian, and New Zealand translations of the New Testament, a Comparative Grammar of those three dialects, which are all from the same root, and illustrate one another. I hope to be quite familiar with the three dialects by the end of the voyage, which will much facilitate the plan which I have conceived—and which may God give me grace to carry into effect—of extending the branches of the Church of New Zealand throughout the Southern Pacific.

I am studying practical navigation under our captain (a most intelligent man) in order that I may be my own *Master* in my visitation voyages. It gives me great pleasure

to find that I am quite at my ease at sea, which makes me look forward to the maritime character of my future life with more comfort and hope. My chronometer and sextant are in constant use. Last night I learned a new observation, viz., to find the angular distance between the moon and a fixed star. William gave me at Plymouth a log-book and chart, in which I keep the ship's reckoning, which is of great use in preventing those ill-defined expectations of arriving at certain places before the time which make journeys seem tedious. I always know the ship's place exactly, and the probable time of her reaching any given point.

Sarah has hitherto been much occupied in attending to her lady companions, who are now rapidly gaining ground. Mrs. Martin is on deck nearly all day, and Mrs. Dudley has just taken her place by her side, having been confined to her cabin for some days.

Long. 20° 32′ W.; lat. 5° 41′; *January 18th;* noon.—We are now in the midst of flying-fish, large shoals of which have been seen every day skimming the surface in all directions. Yesterday the sharks began to appear, and Rupai succeeded in catching a small one this morning.

Lat. N. 3° 12′; long. 20° 15′ W.; 3 P.M.; thermometer 82°. —A brig has just come in sight, which we hope may convey this to you; so I must close it up for the present to be re-opened if the ship should prove not to be homeward bound.

As we cannot hope to hear from you for many months, it is a comfort to think that you may perhaps receive letters from us before the end of February.

Sarah unites with me in kindest love, and with loving, dutiful, and affectionate remembrances to my father, and with kindest love to my brothers and sisters, and to all friends, who are happily too numerous to be mentioned by name,

I remain,
Your dutiful and truly affectionate son,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

Pray send our special love to aunts, Eliza and your sisters, of whom one may be now at rest. All well.

BARQUE "TOMATIN," AT SEA,
A.M. *April* 13,
Long. 151·20, Lat 34·30,
Ended 10 P.M. *April*, off Sydney, N.

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

You will see by looking at the map that at the time of this letter being begun we were approaching Sydney. We are now coasting along the sunny shore of Australia, within ten or fifteen miles of land, and with a full view of the scenery. With our telescopes we can discover the clearings of the settlers dotted along the coast; but for the most part the country appears to be covered with forests. Since the date of my last letter we have had no opportunity of sending letters to England, and have seen very few ships, and those outward bound like ourselves. By referring to my "log-book" I find that I sent letters to you by the brig *Vixen* on Friday, January 21st, which I hoped you would receive before the end of March at the latest. From that time our voyage has been most agreeable and prosperous, with one single exception, viz., the melancholy loss of two of the seamen, who were drowned yesterday, as I will describe in order of time.

Our passage through the tropics, contrary to my expectation, was exceedingly pleasant; the thermometer never rose above 83° Fahrenheit in the shade; and in general we were refreshed by the trade winds, which were carrying us along at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour. Even during a short calm which occurred on the line, we did not find the heat so oppressive as we expected; our cabin, having two windows opening to the stern and one to the side, was always cool and airy, and the bath adjoining was a very great luxury.

On January 26th we crossed the line, and purchased an exemption from the customary shaving, by presenting Neptune with a bone shaving brush (like my father's) enclosing five sovereigns for the whole episcopal party.

Our services on deck, which I described in my last, continued without interruption till the fourth Sunday in Lent, up to which day not a single Saint's Day or Sunday occurred on which we were prevented by weather from having at least one service on deck. I suppose I told you in my last that I had appointed one of our

clergymen, Mr. Cole, as chaplain to the steerage or forward passengers, seventeen in number, and Mr. Reay and Mr, Dudley as chaplains to the crew. Mr. Cole performed divine service every day in the forward cabin during great part of the voyage, and Mr. Reay and Dudley read prayers with the sailors at suitable opportunities. The steerage passengers attended our public services most regularly; but the sailors, from various difficulties, were more remiss, which the late melancholy event has led me more than ever to regret.

During Lent our usual services were extended to Wednesdays and Fridays, and continued without interruption till we were in latitude 40° S., when, the weather being too cold for service on deck, we arranged the lower deck for service.

But I wish you could have seen us on Easter Sunday. But first I must tell you of our Passion week. On Palm Sunday we were in lat. 40° S., long. 62° E. four hours before your time; therefore, when you were at your early devotions at half-past six A.M., we were assembling every day to divine service. Having six clergymen on board besides myself, I appointed a sermon for every day in Passion week, on the subject of one of the events of the day. The six clergymen took the six days, and I preached on Palm Sunday, the second sermon on Good Friday, and on Easter Sunday. I have requested the clergymen to write their sermons in a book in memory of our Passion week on the ocean.

When Easter Day came we were in lat. 38° S., long. 89° E., and a more lovely day could not be seen. Orders were therefore given to prepare the quarterdeck for service. Mr. Few's communion plate was arranged on a large projection covering the hatchway of the lower-deck. Mr. Mackarness's altar services, and one of the many cloths which I have received for the use of the altar, gave the appearance of the Lord's table at church. But you may judge of our delight when nine of the forward passengers, who had not before attended our communion, joined us on this occasion. I trust that we were with you in the spirit, as I doubt not those of your thoughts which were not in heaven were with us. In all we had thirty-four communicants.

Our last service has been of a different character. On Sunday last, April 10th, I gave notice that (God willing) a service of thanksgiving would be performed on the evening before the day on which it was probable that we should reach Sydney.

We were then off Cape Otway, at the west entrance of Bass's Straits, but we made such a rapid passage through the straits that it very soon appeared probable that we should reach Sydney on Wednesday. At twelve on Tuesday, therefore, I gave notice that the service would be held that evening, and prepared a sermon for the occasion, of which the following was the beginning:—

Psalm cvii. 30—"*He bringeth them unto the haven where they would be.*"

"You will easily believe, brethren, that we have invited you to join us this evening in a solemn act of thanksgiving to Almighty God, with no common feelings of Christian joy, or of brotherly love one towards another. It might have been ordained by God that our intercourse should have been mingled with sorrow; and it may still be so, for we can never forget that there is but a step between us and death, and that the little space which now seems to separate us from the haven where we would be, may be the spot chosen by God for some visitation of His heavy hand. We rejoice, therefore, with trembling, with hope subdued by a spirit of reverential submission to His will, prepared either to accept His mercies with thankfulness, or to acquiesce in His judgments."

While I was concluding my sermon, about 5 P.M. on Tuesday, April 12th, the service being appointed for 6 P.M., I heard the cry, "Man overboard!" and, rushing up on deck with my "life preservers" in hand, I caught sight of the man swimming a great distance astern, the ship being then going at the rate of seven miles an hour. My first impulse was to go overboard after him, but I had read that the difficulty was generally increased by this, and therefore I waited to see the boat lowered, in hopes that the man would keep himself up till he was relieved; but, to my horror, I heard that he was intoxicated, and I then felt sure that he would spend all his strength in a few moments, and go down. And so it proved, for the boat came too late. In the meantime the ship tacked and

stood towards the boat, which came alongside, and was being secured, when a roll of the ship swamped her, and she sank with three sailors in her. As she passed the stern half sinking we called out to the men to cling to the boat, which we saw was rising again to the surface, when the weight of their bodies was lessened by their immersion in the water; and for a time it appeared as if all the men had seized the boat or oars, and might wait in safety till another boat could be lowered to their assistance. But when we thought them safe we saw one of them sink, and he never rose again. This was the most painful part of all; for I had my life-preservers filled (with air), and could, I have no doubt, have saved him if I had jumped in. But the whole scene was so new to me that I was paralysed, and knew not what to do for the best. The other two men could swim, one very well, the other a little. Both had parted from the boat, and were soon some way astern, but not out of sight. When I saw the man sink, I threw my life-preservers into the water for the two survivors, and, thank God, the weaker swimmer caught one of them, and supported himself upon it till the second boat came and took them in.

While this heartrending scene was passing at sea the sun was setting gloriously behind the Australian Alps, in marked and most melancholy contrast with the gloom in the heart of every one on board. Our thanksgiving service was changed into a solemn service of death, of which the following is a plan:—

Sentences: "There is but a step between me and death;" "Man that is born of a woman," &c., with the other sentences from the Burial Service; Confession; Absolution; Lord's Prayer; Proper Psalms from the Burial Service; First Lesson, Jonah ii. and iii.; Psalm li.; Second Lesson, Matt. xxiv., from verse 29; Psalm xlii.; Creed; End of Commination Service, from "Lord have mercy upon us;" Thanksgiving of the two men saved; First Thanksgiving from Prayers at Sea, slightly altered; Thanksgiving of passengers for prosperous voyage; Second Thanksgiving from the Prayers at Sea; Prayer and blessing from the Visitation of the Sick.

All the sailors who could be spared from deck attended and all the passengers, cabin and steerage. The service

was very solemn and mournful, and, I hope, not without its effect upon the crew. This is the only circumstance which has occurred to break the continued prosperity of our voyage.

We arrived in sight of Sydney Lighthouse at sunset on Wednesday, April 13th, and were off the heads of the harbour by 9 P.M.; the wind then sank, and we passed the night in a dead calm. At present—10 A.M. April 14th—the land-wind is blowing gently, and we do not make much progress towards the shore; but after noon we hope that the usual sea-breeze, which then sets in, will take us into port.

I must now tell you about ourselves. Sarah is very well, but rather weakened by want of rest, as she is not a good sleeper, and the noises overhead at night much disturb her. But her general health has been excellent, and I have every hope that she will in the end be much benefited by the voyage.

Baby (now William, as being two years old) has not had a day's illness all the voyage. Lord Powis's cow has never failed to supply him with milk twice a day, except during a few days following her premature accouchement. And he has had fresh or preserved meat almost every day, so that his diet has been as good as it could have been on shore.

I can now converse with Rupai fluently in New Zealand, and catechise him always in his own language. His company has been of the greatest service to me, as it has guided my pronunciation, and given me a continual reason for talking. All the New Zealand party have made some progress. Among the young men, Mr. Evans is the best scholar. This will give us great weight with the natives, as they will not be a little pleased at the arrival of a whole party of English speaking their language.

My navigation has also prospered, so that I can now find the ship's latitude and longitude, and shape her course. Our last lunar observation was most useful, as we detected an error of four minutes in the ship's chronometers, which made our place a degree *behind* our real position. This made the captain cautious on entering Bass Straits, where we found ourselves suddenly close to an island called Rodondo, near Wilson's Promontory, at two in the

morning, where we should not have been (if the chronometer reckoning had been true) till past sunrise. The lunar observation had led to a good look-out being kept at night, and all that was necessary was to "lie to" till daybreak, when we steered splendidly through the groups of islands in the straits, enjoying one of the most lovely mornings, and one of the most splendid sea-views that can be imagined. The same evening that we cleared the straits a furious south-west wind came on, which would have made our situation the previous night very dangerous. This was the only strong gale that we had through the whole voyage, and it only lasted a few hours. We are, therefore, full of thankfulness for a most delightful voyage, during which we have not been obliged to close the dead-lights of our cabin once, nor has a single drop of sea-water (except a little spray) ever come in through the windows.

I have sent enclosed a little chart, from which Charles will be able to prick off our weekly course on your map of the world on Mercator's projection. Pray send on the draft to William, who gave me the chart on which I have kept the ship's course.

The breeze has sprung up, and we are rapidly entering the harbour, where we may find a ship homeward-bound; therefore, I must now close, with my most affectionate love to all.

God bless you, my dearest mother, and believe me ever

Your dutiful and truly affectionate son,

G. A. New Zealand.

On April 14th, 1842, the *Tomatin* came to an anchor in the harbour of Sydney, and the Bishop of New Zealand had an opportunity of conferring with the experienced Bishop of Australia on many important matters connected with his own diocese. Never since New Holland had been discovered had two Christian bishops met on the shores of that vast continent, and the occasion was one full of interest to both prelates. Bishop Selwyn was always prone to seek the counsel of his elders, and the venerable Bishop Broughton rejoiced in the extension of his order in the southern hemisphere; and was especially thankful to find

that the first Bishop of New Zealand was such as he was. He wrote on May 13th, 1842:—

"On the 14th ultimo I enjoyed the gratification of welcoming into my diocese the Bishop of New Zealand, with his family and attendant clergy. It is not in my power to express my feelings on this occasion, whether arising from respect and affection towards the eminent man with whom I have now formed for the first time a personal acquaintance, or from a remembrance of the important object which his mission appears destined to accomplish for the Church and for the islands of the south, which may be brought into it through the Divine blessing attending his exertions. From the intercourse which we have already held, I trust that both the Bishop of New Zealand and myself may derive advantages which will compensate for the delay which by touching here he may experience in reaching his ultimate destination."

In going up Sydney harbour the *Tomatin* received some damage by "taking the ground," and as the needful repairs involved a delay irksome to the bishop, who longed to be at his work, he and his chaplain, and others of the party, took ship in a small brig, the *Bristolian*, on May 19th, reaching Auckland on May 30th.

His landing was characteristic, and no bad omen of his future career. His Chaplain, Mr. Cotton, used to relate how the bishop's first act was to kneel down on the sand and give thanks to God. The wife of a missionary thus gave her impressions to a friend in England:—

I must tell you that our good bishop has arrived. . . . He took us all by surprise. . . . He had been becalmed off the heads, and, with his chaplain and his native servant, took to the boat: the two latter rowed, his Lordship steered, and they reached this place soon after dark. . . . W. and H. were soon down at the beach, where they found the head of our New Zealand Church busily engaged in assisting to pull up the boat out of the surf. Such an *entrée* bespoke him a man fit for a New Zealand life. We are all much delighted with him; he seems so desirous of doing good to the natives, and so full of plans for the welfare of all.

To-day the *Tomatin* has arrived, bringing Mrs. Selwyn and the rest of his numerous party. . . . We admired him before, but he has completely won our hearts to-day by his reception of his wife and family.

As long as she lived, his mother was the most favoured recipient of the bishop's letters. To cheer her spirits, which were always depressed, he wrote his brightest and most cheerful journals, and frequently illustrated them with pen and ink sketches of considerable artistic power. From the journal sent on this occasion are to be gathered the emotions with which, as he approached his diocese, he contemplated the work that lay before him.

Friday, May 27th.—We made the "three kings" before midnight. Bright moonlight and fair wind. Remained on deck till midnight, full of thoughts suggested by the first sight of my diocese. God grant that I may never depart from the resolutions which I then formed, but by His grace be strengthened to devote myself more and more earnestly to the work to which He has called me.

Saturday, May 28th.—Saw North Cape at daybreak, and ran gently along all day, with Mount Camel and the high lands from North Cape to Cape Brett in sight. Sea perfectly smooth, and weather lovely.

Sunday, May 29th.—At daybreak, off the Bay of Islands. Ran along with smooth sea and favourable wind. Service on deck at 10.30. At noon, just at the conclusion of the service, we were off Bream Head, a noble cape, which we saw under every advantage of weather and sunshine, and which gave us the first impression of the beauty of New Zealand. All the rest of the day we glided quietly along close to the shore, tracing every headland and bay in the map, and enjoying such reflections as a scene of such deep interest, and seen under such highly favourable circumstances, could not fail to excite. On reaching the mouth of Auckland harbour, the wind, which had before been fair for sailing to the south, changed enough to enable us to sail west of the harbour, where we cast anchor at midnight, under a bright moon, and every outward circumstance agreeing with our inward feelings of thankfulness and joy.

"So Thou bringest them unto the haven where they would be."

Monday, May 30th.—Rowed in my boat (N.B., which I bought at Sydney) to Mr. Chief Justice Martin's at sunrise. Found him in bed, but slid my card under his door, which soon brought him out. You may easily conceive his pleasure at hearing of the safe arrival of his wife. We took him and the Attorney-General (Mr. Swainson) to breakfast on board, and afterwards escorted them to their house in the Governor's barge. After giving them my blessing, I left them to themselves, and went to Government House.

Tuesday, May 31st.—Went to stay with the Governor and Mrs. Hobson, whom I found most hospitable and agreeable.

Sunday, June 5th.—Preached at Auckland in the Courthouse, at present used for a church.

"*If I take the wings of the morning and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea,*" &c.

To the astonishment and delight both of the Maoris and the Missionaries the bishop said prayers and preached in Maori on this the first Sunday which he spent in his Diocese.

Many plans had been carefully matured before leaving England, for mistakes trivial in themselves were, in a Colony and Church both in their infancy, liable to be fraught with serious consequences. Thus it was of set purpose that the bishop took the title of New Zealand, contrary to primitive and general custom; but in these islands, each of which had its rival settlements, to have taken a title from a particular city, and thereby made it an ecclesiastical centre, would have provoked jealousy in every other town, and have put hindrances in the way of the Gospel. On similar grounds the actual residence of the bishop was left an open question: he himself inclined to Auckland, which he said he should call Bishop's Auckland; and this, ultimately, but not at first, became his *Cathedra*. Great pressure was put on him to settle at Wellington, where the largest number of English had

fixed their abode: the Agent of the New Zealand Church Society had secured considerable holdings of land in the neighbourhood, and he wrote that "great anxiety prevailed," and he "felt it his duty to inform the society that if, unfortunately, it should be determined that the bishop should fix his principal residence at Auckland, instead of being received with affectionate regard as our best friend, he will be coldly looked upon as instrumental to our injury, and a main prop of a rival settlement." The good man went on to express his opinion of "the great importance of rendering the bishop powerful in popularity as well as in station and character;" and to that end urged that he should "reside in the midst of his people," by which was meant the Company's colonists.

The principle which guided the bishop was not personal popularity, but the good of the flock, composed as it was of natives and immigrants in the proportion of ten natives to one immigrant.

Financial arrangements were also made on a very definite plan before the bishop left England. He looked forward to the Church in New Zealand becoming self-supporting at an early date, and it was for that condition of things that he took measures from the first. He was conscious of the evils of the system of endowments, which robbed the laity of the privilege of paying for their religion, and he was equally aware of the failure of the voluntary system, by which the clergy are often at the mercy of their congregations; he therefore aimed at combining the two systems, and at obtaining the advantages of both. He had unfolded his plans to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins in the following letter, very soon after his nomination to the See:—

Wanlip Rectory, Leicester,
Aug. 30*th*, 1841.

My dear Hawkins,

In a former conversation with you on the subject of the stipends of the Society's missionaries, I think that I mentioned to you the course which seemed to me to be

most desirable for the payment of the clergy in New Zealand. I have long thought that the plan of annual salaries, whatever advantages it may possess in other quarters, does not apply to New Zealand, where there is comparatively no arrear of past neglect to be made up, and where we may hope to proceed deliberately in building up the parochial system. Do you think that the Society, instead of giving annual salaries to my clergy, would enable me to endow annually one permanent benefice? The sum of 1,000*l.* laid out at interest in the colony would produce at least 100*l.* per annum, which, with such additions as I might obtain from the settlers themselves, would form the basis of a lasting endowment. The same sum laid out in land in the new settlements would, in a few years, yield an ample income to a clergyman. Town land is now letting at Wellington on leases for fourteen years at 25*l.* per quarter of an acre in the best situations. We have already two sections of land at Wellington, which will, I hope, endow two parishes at no very distant period.

A thousand pounds spent at Nelson, and another next year at Auckland, would, I think, secure the permanent establishment of the Church in both places, My object would be to keep all new clergymen with myself, working in my central institutions, till the growth of population required the creation of a new benefice, and I would then draft them off according to character and seniority. I should thus hope to know all my clergy intimately. What I most of all deprecate is the continuance of annual salaries, which leave a Church always in the same dependent state as at first, and lay upon the parent Society a continually increasing burden. If the Society would entrust to me an annual grant for the purpose of endowment, I would husband it to the uttermost, and I think that under the peculiar circumstances of the colony their funds could not be more beneficially employed. I am not anxious to take out many clergymen at first, as the land is not yet ready for the formation of a central establishment; and all my communications with Government have ended by my being referred to the Governor on the spot. Under these circumstances, if the Society would furnish me with some assistance for the passage-money of two clergymen and their wives, two schoolmasters and wives,

to go with me in November, and send out to me annually one or two clergymen and schoolmasters, I shall be satisfied.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts acceded to the request of the bishop, who, eight years afterwards, was able to point out that it had thoroughly succeeded. He wrote [again to Mr. Hawkins] "I hope it is a satisfaction to you to think that you have endowed in perpetuity three chaplaincies in New Zealand, even at English interest, at a price not exceeding sixteen years' purchase. If the Society could have spent all its income in the same way for a century and a half you would now have endowed for ever nearly 1,000 chaplaincies at 150*l.* per annum, and have altered the whole face of the Colonial Church. This, you will say, was one of Selwyn's crotchets, and I am content that you should so call it, so long as I enjoy the fruit of your departure in my favour from your old practice." The clergy were in no case dependent on local boards: they received their stipends from the Archdeaconry Funds. If local subscriptions failed, no extension of the Church could take place, and thus in time the spirit of local exertion was awakened.

From the first the Bishop declined assistance from the State under the "Church Act," which was copied from the New South Wales Act, "which professes to give its assistance to the Church only as one of the many denominations of Christians, at the same time hampering the Churches so assisted with a Board of Trustees and other unecclesiastical machinery, which has already proved injurious to the Church in Sydney." He said he "preferred to maintain the Church's independence, and to commit her support to the free charities of the servants of God."

In the early days of his residence in New Zealand, he wrote to the Rev. E. Coleridge:—

"I have felt obliged to assume a position of entire independence: offering to buy whatever land might be required for the Church, rather than submit to restrictions of which

I cannot approve. One good effect of this has already appeared in the appropriation of burial-grounds—that I have obtained two grounds to be consecrated for the burial of the dead according to the usage of the Church of England, and vested in myself as trustee, instead of being mixed up with a general 'Protestant Cemetery' for all denominations."

And now the time had come when theories and plans were to be tested by daily work. On the first Sunday after landing, the bishop, as has been already mentioned, preached his "thanksgiving sermon" in the Court-house of Auckland, the church of St. Paul being only half-built.[1] The sermon was remarkable as an expression of thankfulness for a safe voyage, and also as showing the frame of mind in which the bishop commenced his work, the source of that supernatural strength which supported him, and the simple way in which he put aside what to others would have been great and serious difficulties. Having shown "how small is the change of our true life by the mere change of our dwelling-place," he said :—

"A great change has taken place in the circumstances of our natural life, but no change has taken place which need affect our spiritual being. We have left home, and friends, and all that was dear to us; we have passed over many thousand miles of sea, and have come to a land where there is not so much as a tree resembling those of our native country. All visible things are new and strange, but the things that are unseen remain the same. Many bodily comforts are abridged, many worldly enjoyments are lost, many outward circumstances are changed, but the inward and spiritual realities of our Christian life are still

[1] Before this church was consecrated a discussion arose as to the allotment of seats. A man who had given a large sum suggested that those who had given most should have priority of choice. To the surprise of all the bishop seemed to assent, but added, "How are we to find that out?" "No difficulty," said the donor; "there's the subscription list." "Very true," said the bishop; "but you know we have read of a poor widow who only gave two mites, and the highest authority tells us that she gave more than they all."

unaltered. The same Spirit guides, and teaches, and comforts, and watches over us; the same Saviour prays for us at the right hand of God, and is in the midst of us on earth, when we are met together in His name. The God and Father of us all numbers every hair of our heads, that not one of us may be lost. The same Church of Christ acknowledges us as her members, and stretches out her arms to receive and bless our children in baptism, to lay her hands upon the heads of our youth, to break and to bless the bread of the Eucharist, and to call all true believers to the Supper of the Lord; and lastly, to lay our dead in the grave in peace and with the same sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life.

"If then there be a change in our present state, it is only in the things which we see and touch and taste and handle, and which perish in the handling. The things unseen by which we live in the spirit with God are like God Himself, Who cannot change. The love of the Father never faileth; the intercession of Christ never ceaseth: the Comfort of the Spirit abideth with us for ever: the ministry of the Church goes on in perpetual succession: the prayers of the Church come up, as the morning and evening sacrifice to God: the inward influences of a true and lively faith still act upon every willing heart. In short—there is no Christian duty and no Christian comfort or principle or hope which is not essentially the same to us under our present circumstances, as when we were enjoying the more settled ordinances and visible forms of our Mother Church. The only difference is that ours is a Church built upon faith and hope: a Church, of which we see nothing but believe everything: a seed now hidden in the ground, but which, we trust in God, will grow up into a great tree."

After this memorable Sunday the bishop and a missionary accompanied the Aborigines Protection Commissioner to the Thames District, their object being to inquire into a massacre that had recently been committed, and which had threatened to lead to serious consequences, the natives having assembled to the number of 1,000 to revenge the crime.

On St. John the Baptist's Day the *Tomatin* reached the Bay of Islands, and there the divided party were re-united with one exception, the Rev. T. Whytehead being obliged to remain behind with friends in Sydney for a time. This was a disappointment to the bishop, and the early removal of his dear friend and chaplain was one of the chief sorrows of his episcopate: his delight at securing him had been great: "My stationary man! one whom I can leave in charge in my absence," had been his description of him: he had great influence with young men: and in New Zealand, whither slanderous reports had preceded him, all were won over. It was a fair sight to see the old grey-haired catechist sit at his feet as the younger prepared the elder for ordination, and to hear it said, "It was an angel unawares that we have received among us."

The bishop had already chosen the Waimate as his headquarters, where the Church Missionary Society possessed houses which could receive all the party, and abundantly the selection was justified so long as the circumstances of the diocese allowed of its continuance. In 1843, the Bishop wrote :—

"Every day convinces me more and more that we are better placed here than in one of the English towns. The general laxity of morals, and defect of Church principles, in the new settlements, would make them dangerous places for the education of the young, and render it almost impossible to keep up that high tone of religious character and strictness of discipline which is required, both as a protest against the prevailing state of things, and as a training for our candidates for Holy Orders. At the Waimate, I am fettered by no usages, subject to no fashions, influenced by no expectations of other men; I can take that course which seems to be the best, and pursue it with unobtrusive perseverance. When we have been strengthened in our entrenched camp (if it be God's will), we will sally forth."

But the daily work of the entrenched camp had to be done by subordinates. A few days were given to settling

in his party, in arranging a plan of work and study during his absence, and the bishop returned to Auckland to commence his first visitation. A delay arose in consequence of the brig not being ready, and during these few days he was busy selecting sites for churches, parsonages, and cemeteries, and receiving visits from natives, to each of whom he gave a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in Maori which he had had printed in England. On July 28, realizing the truth of the text "they that have wives [shall] be as though they had none," he was off on a long visitation by land and sea, on horseback, and more often on foot, to Wellington, Nelson, and the Southern Island, hoping to reach Auckland early in December, and to spend Christmas at home, having seen "every settlement and every clergyman and catechist in the country."

At Wellington he had the task of nursing on his deathbed his friend and companion W. Evans, who had sailed with him from England, and on whose assistance he had rested hopefully. The Chief Justice, who joined him at Wellington, in October, was much struck by the effect of anxiety on the bishop, and wrote thus to his wife.

WELLINGTON, *Oct.* 10*th*, 1842.

As our boat neared the beach the bishop stood there to welcome us. It was very joyous to meet him, but I was struck by his pale, worn face. He was nursing the sick in the house where I lodged last year. The sick man was poor Evans, who had then been given over by the physicians; he was to all appearance sinking . . . The bishop was watching and tending as a mother or wife might watch and tend. It was a most affecting sight. He practised every little art that nourishment might be supplied to his patient; he pounded chicken into fine powder, that it might pass in a liquid form into his ulcerated mouth. He made jellies, he listened to every sound, he sat up the whole night through by the bedside. In short, he did everything worthy of his noble nature. It went to my heart. . . . A morning or two ago I strolled up one of those sunny hills that I might breathe the fresh air before going into court, and there, amidst the life and

beauty of a spring morning, a boy was digging the grave of poor Evans. . . . The bishop and I have slept side by side, on two stretchers in a huge loft, ever since I came."

On this journey the bishop spent the first anniversary of his consecration, and in the following letter to his mother, who at the time of its being written was removed from earthly cares, he describes what his feelings were:—

WAIKANAE, *Oct. 23rd*, 1842.

You would be surprised with the comparative comfort which I enjoy in my encampments. My tent is strewn with dry fern or grass. My air-bed is laid upon it. My books, clothes, and other goods lie beside it; and though the whole dimensions of my dwelling do not exceed eight feet by five, I have more room than I require, and am as comfortable as it is possible for a man to be when he is absent from those whom he loves most. I spent Oct. 17th, the anniversary of my consecration, in my tent on the sand hills, with no companion but three natives; my party having gone on to Wanganui to fetch Mr. Mason's horse for me; and while in that situation, I was led naturally to contrast my present position with the very different scenes at Lambeth and Fulham last year. I can assure you that the comparison brought with it no feelings of discontent; on the contrary, I spent the greater part of the day, after the usual services and readings with my natives, in thinking with gratitude over the many mercies and blessings which have been granted to me in the past year; among which, the cheerfulness and comfort with which you bore our separation was not forgotten. Indeed in looking back upon the events of the year; upon my happy parting from all my friends, my visit to the Bishop of Australia, my prosperous voyages, eight in number, my happiness in the reports of Sarah's health and contentment during our separation, my favourable reception in every town in my diocese, my growing friendship with the natives, who have now heard of me in every part of the country, and welcome me with their characteristic cordiality, all form an inexhaustible subject for thoughts of joy and thanksgiving, which sometimes fill the heart almost to overflowing. The loss of my faithful friend and

companion, W. Evans, and the intelligence of the death of my brother-in-law, which I knew would deeply afflict Sarah, are the only interruptions to this continued course of happiness. . . .

Waikanae is the station of the Rev. O. Hadfield, who is a most valuable and zealous missionary. I enjoyed his society much during the time that he was able to accompany us on our way. We slept at his house, and the next day assembled the natives to service; more than 500 had come from various parts, so that the chapel and the space outside the walls were quite full. I preached to them as well as I could, and gathered from their faces that they understood what I was saying. In fact, my progress through the country involves me in almost daily preaching and teaching. So that I hope soon to be fluent, if not correct. At Waikanae I saw the preparations for a new chapel on a large scale. The Ridge Piece was formed out of a single tree, and is 76 feet in length, a present from the neighbouring settlement of Otaki, which till Mr. Hadfield's arrival was at war with the people of Waikanae, but has made peace, and presented them with this appropriate token of friendship.

On Wednesday, Oct. 12, we walked ten miles to Otaki, another of Mr. Hadfield's stations, and slept in his house, where I left the greater part of my stores to be ready for my journey up the Manawatu river to Ahuriri, on the east coast.

As has been already mentioned, the first anniversary of his consecration was the day on which his mother entered into her rest. It had been allowed to him specially to comfort and cheer her when, as was often the case, her morbid depression was proof against the sympathy of others, and his parting from her a short year previous had been a sore trial; when, therefore, the news of her not unexpected decease came, many months after the event, he described himself as "going heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother." What his own feelings were may be inferred from a striking letter of condolence which he addressed to a friend under similar sorrow:—

I have not intruded upon the privacy of your sorrow at an earlier period, because I felt that I could add nothing to the motives to resignation which you already have, both in yourself and in the various members of your united family. May it be still an united family, though one main link is broken; for the Christian spirit of her who used to be the centre of domestic comfort, and the example of Christian conduct, will still pervade every member, and unite them more closely by its purely spiritual influence. In the lifetime even of the best of mothers, there may be some mingling of human frailties with the holy influence which God gave her power to exercise; some trifling drawbacks to the full effect of her bright example; but death removes the human hindrances and effectuates the operation of parental counsel upon the heart of the child. It is then that every well-remembered word has the force of one of those laws which could not be altered by the Athenians because the Solon who made them was dead. If you have been more particularly blessed in the character and disposition of the parent whom you have lost, there is no fear that the late event will cause any diminution of that blessing. The only character of which this can be said with truth, is that of the Christian parent. There is no other attachment which does not sustain an irreparable breach by the hand of death. The father is bereaved of the support of his old age by the death of a child, the husband of the companion of his bosom by the death of a wife; but the child is not deprived of that which constitutes the great value of the parental character—its Christian exemplariness—by the death of the parent upon whose model, refined and purified by religion, his own disposition has been trained and matured. Death, which cuts short all other sympathies, exalts and ennobles the influence of a parent upon a child.

Strange were the adventures in this long journey: at one time the bishop was cheered by the well-ordered mission of the Rev. O. Hadfield (the present Bishop of Wellington), who was his travelling companion for some days: at another he was received with all honour in a fortified Pa, at a place rendered notorious by a recent

murder which was followed by an act of cannibalism, "the principal murderer being most assiduous in his attentions," which took the form of shaking of hands and shouts of "Hæere mai:" a few miles further on he was the guest of a missionary at whose station was also staying the acting Governor, with a suite of secretaries and interpreters, who had come down to investigate the circumstances of the murder and to bring the offenders to justice; the Chief Justice was the bishop's companion at this part of his visitation, and thus the heads of the State, the Law, the Army, and the Church, were at one and the same time the guests of the Mission, which afforded to all alike a place of safety in spite of the turbulent spirits that were abroad, no small testimony to the value of the missionary's labours. His wife commended herself much to the bishop in that she "pursued the even tenor of her domestic duties, not deviating from their usual mode of living, which was most suitable to the character of a mission station."

At the close of this year the bishop received a communication from his brother of Australia, whose mind, like his own, had conceived the idea of a central College, at which the pupils should be gathered from all the islands of the Pacific, but with Mr. Whytehead sinking rapidly into his grave, where was the man to be found who could preside over such an institution while the bishop was absent on his extensive journeys? He wrote thus his views and feelings to Mrs. Selwyn:—

"I am about to answer the Bishop of Australia's letter. His proposal completely falls in with my wish to form a Polynesian College for the different branches of the Maori family scattered over the Pacific; and therefore I shall write an answer in entire accordance with his views. But you know how much I have built upon my dear friend's (Mr. Whytehead's) assistance in all my plans for central institutions; and if it please God to remove from me the human pillar of my whole edifice as He has already taken from me one who promised to be in his lower station a trustworthy foundation-stone, how little shall I have left

of support upon which I can really depend, and yet how fully ought I to continue to believe that this is God's work; and that He has ways yet in store, by which He will bring it to completion? Perhaps I trusted too much to human instruments; perhaps I was proud of being so attended, though indeed I know that I was often humbled by being meekly waited upon by one whose prayers I needed more than he could profit by my blessing. I seemed to be but a body to his mind; and yet in such a combination of material power with spiritual meekness there seemed to be a purpose of God to supplement the weakness of the one by that in which the other was strong. God's will be done. Only may I duly profit by the deeply written lesson which this holy vision, for so it seems, has fixed upon my heart. Let me not be backward to render thankfully to God that which is so evidently His own. . . . . Believe me, I am cheerful still; but it will be as the death of a brother to me, when he dies: and I cannot but dwell upon the prospect, as if a cloud were hanging over the once sunny landscape of my goodly heritage and my fair land. Still there is a light that shines in the darkness, though I cannot fully 'comprehend it.'"

On December 30, the Chief Justice and the bishop separated: the former to spend New Year's Day under his own roof, but for the bishop it had long been evident that he must abandon the hope of reaching home for Christmas, or even for New Year's Day. A visitation of the Waikato had to be made, and on January 1 he "reviewed with much thankfulness the various events of the past year, so full of new and important features." On January 3, 1843, the bishop's diary contains the following characteristic entry, which has often been quoted but which must not on that account be excluded from these pages, which aim at being a memoir of what he said and did:—

"My last pair of thick shoes being worn out, and my feet much blistered with walking the day before on the stumps, which I was obliged to tie to my insteps with

pieces of native flax, (*phormium tenax*,) I borrowed a horse from the native teacher, and started at four A.M. to go twelve miles to Mr. Hamlin's Mission-station at Manukau harbour, where I arrived at seven A.M. in time for his family breakfast. After breakfast, wind and tide being favourable, I sailed in Mr. Hamlin's boat ten miles across Manukau harbour; a noble sheet of water, but very dangerous from shoals and frequency of squalls. A beautiful run of two hours brought us to Onehunga by noon. I landed there with my faithful Maori Rota (Lot), who had steadily accompanied me from Kapiti, carrying my bag and gown and cassock, the only remaining article in my possession of the least value. The suit which I wore was kept sufficiently decent, by much care, to enable me to enter Auckland by daylight; and my last remaining pair of shoes (thin ones) were strong enough for the light and sandy walk of six miles which remained from Manukau to Auckland. At two P.M. I reached the Judge's house, by a path, avoiding the town, and passing over land which I have bought for the site of the cathedral;[1] a spot which, I hope, may hereafter be traversed by the feet of many bishops, better shod and far less ragged than myself. It is a noble site for a large building, overlooking the whole

[1] Mr. Swainson, in his excellent work *New Zealand and its Colonization*, to which these pages are already under great obligations, has a good passage on this entry in the bishop's journal, and it is interesting, as on other grounds, so for the way in which the tables are turned on Lord Macaulay's mythical New Zealander, of whom we are all weary. He writes (p. 219):—

"By the provident foresight of Bishop Selwyn this commanding position has been secured for the site of the Metropolitan Cathedral of New Zealand. And at some remote period in the far distant future, when the projected cathedral shall have become a venerable pile, it will be a matter of no little interest to its then ministers (should the tradition be so long preserved) to read how, in the *dark* or early ages of New Zealand, A.D. 1843, its founder, the first bishop, returning from a walking Visitation of more than a thousand miles, attended by a faithful companion of a then, it may be, extinct race, his shoes worn out and tied to his instep by a leaf of native flax, travel-worn but not weary, once more found himself on this favoured spot, arrested for a moment by the noble prospect presented to his bodily eye, and cheered by the prophetic vision of a long line of successors, Bishops of New Zealand, traversing the same spot, better clad and less ragged than himself. Such a scene illustrative of 'The Hour and the Man' in the hands of a true artist, would afford a fitting subject for a painting to adorn the walls of the future Chapter-house of St. ——."

town, and with a sea view stretching out over the numerous islands of the gulf of Hauraki."

From Auckland the bishop hurried away on learning that his dear friend Mr. Whytehead had reached Waimate only to die, and that probably he had already entered into rest. Letters had partly prepared him, but when the blow came he wrote "it almost overpowered me, for we have walked together in God's spiritual house so long, that his death will be like the loss of another brother. When I recollected the last scene before I quitted Wellington, the interment of dear W. Evans, my journey seemed like the rebuilding of Jericho, to be begun and ended in the death of my children. Still I thank God that the clouded side of the pillar was not always before my mind, but from time to time the light would appear: and it seemed as though the death of those whom I loved and trusted most was another proof of the profusion of His bounty in giving such men to be buried under the foundations of my infant Church, for the generations that come after to remember and imitate."

The voyage was occupied by reading Exodus with the Maori fellow-passengers; and for the soothing of his own spirit the bishop read much of the volume of poems by his loved chaplain, then, as he had reason to think, beyond the veil. But on January 9, 1843, he reached the Waimate and Mr. Whytehead[1] was one of the first to greet him, "his pale and spectral face telling its own story." Thus ended the first Visitation, having extended over more than six months in which 2,277 miles were traversed, 762 on foot, 86 on horseback, 249 in canoes or boats, and 1,180 by ship.

It had been part of the bishop's plan to have at the head of the college at the Waimate his trusted and accomplished friend, and for a little while he filled that office with such measure of strength as was given to him.

[1] *Vide* Dean Howson's *Memoir of Rev. T. B. Whytehead*: *Mission Life*, vol. iv. *Unknown and yet Well-known*, No. 1.

In addition to affording the daily example of a saintly character, it was his privilege to introduce to the Maoris in their own tongue the evening hymn of Bishop Ken. They liked it, and used to sing it under his window, calling it "the new hymn of the sick minister." He died on Sunday, March 19, 1843, and was buried at the east end of the churchyard in a spot which would be under the chancel window when the stone church should be built. His departure was a sore loss, but the bishop wrote, "to have lived with such men as those who are gone to their rest, and to have their graves to endear this country to me, and to live with them in the spirit in the midst of works to which they had devoted themselves, is a privilege which time cannot impair so long as faith do not fail." A quarter of a century passed away and the members of St. John's College at Cambridge erected a new chapel, and adorned the vaulted roof with a series of figures, illustrating the successive centuries of the Christian æra, and among the five who were selected as representatives of the nineteenth century, all having been members of the college, was Thomas Whytehead, the others being Henry Martyn, William Wilberforce, William Wordsworth, and James Wood.

Immediately after the funeral of Mr. Whytehead, the bishop had to leave home for the extreme northern part of the island, where two parties of natives were engaged in a war that threatened to become general. This was a new experience, but even in their warfare there was a strange recognition on either side of Christianity which was strikingly at variance with their unchristian occupation. The bishop wrote:—

"I arrived on the Saturday, and immediately took up my position midway between the hostile camps, in a field of Indian corn, which had been partially destroyed. From this neutral ground I opened my communications with the rival chiefs. On the next morning, Sunday, the whole valley was as quiet as in the time of perfect peace,

the natives walking about unarmed among the cultivations, it being perfectly understood that neither party would fight on the Lord's day. Going early in the morning to one of the Pas, I found the chief reading prayers to his people. As he had just come to the end of the Litany, I waited till he concluded, and then read the Communion Service, and preached to them on part of the lesson of the day,—'A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.' I spoke my opinion openly, but without giving any offence; and the chief, after the service, received me in a most friendly manner."

The college at the Waimate was declared by the bishop in 1843 to be in full working order, and from its students he looked forward to obtaining a regular supply of candidates for the ministry, a necessity made more apparent to him day by day as the prospect of obtaining suitable men from England dwindled away. With the college was connected a boarding-school, which for the convenience of parents living at a distance, and in a country where means of locomotion were deficient, did its work continuously from March 1 to November 1, and gave a long vacation of the four summer months. The college was entirely the bishop's own creation, "founded," as he was wont to act, "on the best precedents of antiquity," and the following paper shows how completely he had worked out the whole idea in his own mind. [The title of the College and the list of Officers are omitted.]

"ST. PAUL'S RULE AND PRACTICE.

"1 *Thess.* 4. 11. That ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you.

"2 *Thess.* 3. 8. Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, *that if any would not work,*

neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our *Lord Jesus Christ*, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.

"1 *Thess.* 2. 9. Ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail: for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of *God.*

"1 *Cor.* 4. 11. Even unto this present hour we—labour, working with our own hands.

"*Acts* 20. 34. Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

"*Acts* 18. 3. Because he was of the same craft, he abode with them and wrought: for by their occupation they were tentmakers.

"General Principles.

"The general condition upon which all Students and Scholars are received into St. John's College, is, that they shall employ a definite portion of their time in some useful occupation in aid of the purposes of the Institution. The hours of study and of all other employments will be fixed by the Visitor and Tutors. No member of the body is at liberty to consider any portion of his time as his own; except such intervals of relaxation as are allowed by the rules of the college.

"In reminding the members of St. John's College of the original condition upon which they were admitted, the Visitor feels it to be his duty to lay before them some of the reasons which now, more than ever, oblige him to require a strict and zealous fulfilment of this obligation.

"The foundation of St. John's College was designed—1. As a place of religious and useful education for all classes of the community, and especially for Candidates for Holy Orders.—2. As a temporary hostelry for young settlers on their first arrival in the country.—3. As a refuge for the

sick, the aged, and the poor. The expenses of those branches of the Institution which are now open already exceed the means available for their support: and a further extension will be necessary to complete the system. The state of the colony has made it necessary to receive a larger number of foundation scholars than was at first intended. The general desire of the Maori people for instruction will require an enlargement of the native schools for children and adults. The rapid increase of the half-caste population in places remote from all the means of instruction must be provided for by a separate school for their benefit. The care of the sick of both races, and the relief of the poor, will throw a large and increasing charge upon the funds of the college.

"The only regular provision for the support of the Institution, is an annual grant of three hundred pounds for the maintenance of students, from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It is the intention of the Visitor and Tutor to devote the whole of their available income to the general purposes of the college; but as the sources from which the greater portion of their funds is derived are in some measure precarious, and as this supply must cease with their lives, it is the bounden duty of every one to bear always in mind, *that the only real endowment of St. John's College is the industry and self-denial of all its members.*

"Even if industry were not in itself honourable, the purposes of the institution would be enough to hallow every useful art, and manual labour, by which its resources might be augmented. No rule of life can be so suitable to the character of a Missionary College as that laid down by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and recommended by his practice:

"'*Let him labour, working with his own hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.*'"

"It will therefore be sufficient to state once for all; that any unwillingness in a theological student to follow the rule and practice of St. Paul, will be considered as a proof of his unfitness for the ministry, and that incorrigible idleness or vicious habits in any student or scholar will lead to his dismissal from the college.

"Details of Industrial System.

"The Industrial System is intended to provide in a great measure for the supply of food and clothing to the schools and hospital; for the improvement of the college domain; for the management of the printing press; and for the embellishment of churches with carved work of wood and stone. Some parts of the system are already in operation, and the remainder, it is hoped, will be gradually developed.

"The Industrial Classes are divided under two heads of Active and Sedentary employments. Every student and scholar, when not hindered by any bodily infirmity, will be required to practice one active and one sedentary Trade. The classes for active employments will be arranged according to age and strength; but in the sedentary some liberty of choice will be allowed.

"The Classes for Active Employments are the following:—

I. Gardeners. Lower School.
Duties. Care of the Flower Gardens and Apiary, Weeding, Picking, Handsowing, Propagation of choice plants and seeds, &c.

II. Foresters. Upper School.
Duties. Care of the Woods, Plantations and Roads, Clearing, Planting, Roadmaking, Fencing, Propagation of choice trees, Seasoning Timber, &c.

III. Farmers. Adult School.
Duties. Agriculture in all its branches. Care of stock, &c. &c.

IV. Sacrists. Theological Students.
Duties. Care of the Churches, Chapels and Burial Grounds, Cleaning and beautifying the Churches and Chapels, Clearing, Fencing, Planting, Turfing, Draining the precincts of the Chapels and Burial Grounds.

"The Classes for Sedentary Trades will be arranged in a similar manner. The Trades at present open for selection are, Carpenters, Turners, Printers, and Weavers.

"The time allotted to manual industry will be divided

between active and sedentary employments, according to the state of the weather, and other circumstances.

"Every class will be placed under the direction of a Foreman, who is expected to study the best practical books, explaining the principles of the arts and employments practised in his class, and to be able to teach them to his scholars. After a certain probation every Foreman will be allowed a Deputy, whom he will be required to instruct in the practical duties of his office. When the Deputy is sufficiently instructed, the Foreman of the class will be allowed to devote a larger portion of his time to study, with a view to his admission into the class of Theological Students.

"CONCLUSION.

"In conclusion, the Visitor desires to impress upon the minds of all the Members of St. John's College, that *it is the motive which sanctifies the work;* and to urge them, to carry into the most minute detail of their customary occupations the one living principle of Faith, without which no work of man can be good or acceptable in the sight of God; and to endeavour earnestly to discharge every duty of life, as part of a vast system, ordained by Christ himself, 'from whom,' St. Paul teaches us '*the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.*' (Eph. 4. 16.)"

The bishop in the midst of his pressing spiritual duties did not overlook the temporal concerns of his diocese. He was anxious as soon as possible to carry out the plans which he had formed when in England—to throw the Church on her own resources, and to provide for moderate endowments, while still eliciting on the part of the people a spirit of self-help. There were large tracts of land the property of the Church which would not attain to any sensible value for some years, but which in time would begin to produce rental. In every settlement which possessed a local bank an Archdeaconry Church Fund was established, into which were paid private contributions and

all offertories, surplice fees and Easter offerings; and this fund which was managed by five trustees, was applicable in each archdeaconry to the building of churches, schools, and parsonages, and to the payment of the stipends of the clergy, who were thus saved the feeling of being dependent on their flocks for their maintenance, while the laity were likewise taught that their fees and offerings were given not to the individual clergymen but to the Church. Every town clergyman was pledged to learn the native language, and to be ready to minister to the Aborigines, and the bishop found it necessary to establish the converse rule, that every missionary to the natives should also be ready to minister to the Europeans, which the Church Missionary Society's clergy had not reckoned among their obligations. Each deacon was responsible for the schools and public charities, and was required to attend in school from nine till twelve daily, and to take all the religious instruction. His own stipend, which was 1,200*l.* per annum, paid in equal proportions by the Government, and by the Church Missionary Society, the bishop threw into a common Diocesan Fund: the scale on which he fixed the payment of the clergy was as follows: Deacons 100*l.* per annum, gradually rising, in the case of priests to 300*l.*, archdeacons 400*l.*, bishops 500*l.*, house provided in each case if possible, but not guaranteed. When in 1852 the colony received an independent legislature, and all imperial charges were thrown on colonial funds, the moiety hitherto paid to the Bishop by the Crown failed. The bishop still carried 600*l.* to the diocesan account until the consecration of Archdeacon Williams in 1859 to the wholly unendowed diocese of Waiapu. As a missionary Mr. Williams received 200*l.* per annum from the Church Missionary Society, and the bishop urged him to throw this into the common fund, and that each should take 400*l.*; by this plan he sacrificed another 200*l.* per annum of the income to which he was entitled.

Experience gained at home had revealed only too plainly

the perils of large and unequally distributed endowments; in his own words he "guarded against the possibility of a New Zealand Stanhope,"[1] and the Bishop therefore, while asking for assistance in gathering these endowments which formed so essential a part of his scheme, was careful to publish the restrictions which he should impose, and the way in which patronage would be exercised. His language was perfectly intelligible and outspoken.

"The evils to be guarded against in an Endowed Church, are these, 1. Abuse of Patronage. 2. Inequality of Endowment. 3. Removal from one benefice to another for the sake of pecuniary advantage.

"The endowment of the Church in New Zealand will therefore be conducted, as much as possible, on the following principles:

1. That all deserving persons shall be duly promoted after stated periods of service.

2. That all similarly situated persons shall receive the like emoluments.

3. That an increase of income shall be secured to every Clergyman after stated periods of service, without the necessity of removal to another station.

"All contributions for endowment are therefore recommended to be made to the Archdeaconry Endowment Fund, the income of which will be divided among all the Clergy of the Archdeaconry upon the above principles. The Bishop's general Endowment Fund will be applied to regulate the inequalities of the Archdeaconry Funds.

"Endowments restricted to particular places will be accepted subject to the condition, that the surplus income, beyond the proportion payable to the incumbent according to his standing, shall be added to the Endowment Fund of the Archdeaconry.

"No endowments will be accepted, subject to the condition of Private Patronage. Vacancies will be filled up by the ordination of those deacons whom the Bishop shall judge to be best qualified for the particular stations. As a general principle, the income of the clergy will depend on their length of service, — their location upon their

[1] A benefice in the Diocese of Durham.

personal qualifications. Thus the Bishop will neither exercise the right of pecuniary patronage himself, nor allow that power to others."

The year 1843 was memorable for the outbreak at the Wairau which has been alluded to in a previous chapter. It was an event which to the most sanguine spirit must have been appalling, threatening as it did to destroy the evangelistic work of nearly thirty years, and to embroil two races in internecine strife. The bishop wrote to a friend in England a long and dispassionate account of the terrible outbreak and its immediate cause.

St. John's College, The Waimate,
Bay of Islands,
New Zealand,
July, 1843.

Last Monday, July 17, was the gloomiest day which I have spent in New Zealand. God grant that the evils which now seem to threaten this portion of my diocese may be averted. What has occurred at Nelson will, I trust, be a salutary, though an awful lesson to us all. I send you an account upon the general correctness of which you may depend: for fear that incorrect and distorted reports should reach you through the public newspapers. You are aware that great uncertainty has continued up to the present day with respect to the boundaries of the land purchased from the natives by the agents of the New Zealand Company. The company seem to have had no other idea than that a purchase had been made by which the whole southern extremity of the Northern Island and the northern extremity of the Southern Island had been ceded to their agents. Of this arrangement I have every reason to believe that the natives had no comprehension; their own ideas of boundaries and territorial rights being remarkably definite, though complicated in many cases by the number of the joint proprietors. One native chief for instance may have the sole property in one portion of land, and a common right in another: if he were disposed to sell both he might speak of them both as his land, though the purchaser in the one case would be buying the whole fee-simple of the land, in the other, only the

separate interest of a particular chief holding it in common with others.

A second custom of the natives is, that in all sales an immediate payment is required, answering to our "deposits," and a second on taking possession of the land, at which time the purchase is supposed to be completed.

It is a remarkable fact, and one necessary to be known before a right judgment can be formed of the late fatal affray at Nelson, that hundreds of thousands of acres have been transferred by the natives to the English settlers in all parts of the country without the slightest dispute, where all the points necessary to the completion of a sale according to the native usages have been duly attended to. The courts of the commissioners of land claims have been conducted without the slightest interruption, except in one case, where land had been sold by one chief, which was alleged to be the property of another. Where the title has been first ascertained, and all the formalities of sale duly executed, hundreds of deeds have been passed through the commissioners' courts, not only without dispute, but with the full support of the evidence of the native proprietors, by whom the land was conveyed to the English purchasers. In the course of my journeys through the country, I have constantly been told the exact boundaries, and the price (even to a blanket or an axe) of the land so alienated in the districts through which I have passed.

I make these preliminary remarks, because the first impression of our friends in England on hearing of the slaughter at Nelson, will be that we are living among a nation of bloodthirsty savages; and this feeling encouraged, would give such a tone to all legislation with regard to our native people, as would soon give birth to a war with them, which, as in all former cases, would be nothing else than a war of extermination.

It appears that early in the month of June, the surveyors employed by the Nelson Company were carrying on their operations in Cloudy Bay, upon land the sale of which was disputed. In so doing they met with the usual molestation from the natives, wherever a doubt exists as to the title of the claimant; their marks and flags were removed, and other petty interruptions were caused. At last, a small hut, belonging to the surveyors, built of

materials collected on the spot, was burnt down, all the property contained in it having first been carefully taken out by the natives to be returned to the owner. Upon this the Company's principal Agent applied to the police magistrate for a warrant against Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, the two principal chiefs concerned in burning the hut. The magistrate granted the warrant, and having assembled a force amounting in all to forty-nine men, proceeded in the *Victoria* Government brig to Cloudy Bay. After landing, and going up a river about ten miles they found the two chiefs, whom they required to accompany them on board the brig. This being refused the agent of the company returned to his men, who were on the other side of a deep creek, to bring them forward to assist in the seizure. It appears that the disposition of the natives was at first altogether peaceable: that they proposed to leave the question of right to be settled by the Government Commissioner, who has given great satisfaction to the natives, and I believe to all parties, by the impartiality of his inquiries; the chiefs are said to have alleged that they had burnt nothing but what belonged to themselves, that the materials of the hut were the produce of the ground, which was still theirs; that all the property found in it had been preserved, and would be restored; but that they would not go as prisoners on board the Government vessel. This not having satisfied the officers, the agent, as I have said, returned to lead his men across the creek, the only passage across which was by a canoe stretched from side to side. During the confusion of crossing the firing began (it is said accidentally), on the side of the English, and by the first discharge the wife of Rangiaeta was killed. The old chiefs started up, crying out after the native manner: "Hei kona te marama. Hei kona te ra. Haere mai te po." "Farewell the light. Farewell the day. Come hither night," and immediately returned the fire. The English labourers of the party (most of whom had no previous knowledge of the errand on which they had come, only one, I believe, having been sworn in as a special constable), took to flight at the first discharge. The natives swimming across the creek pursued them in all directions. The agent with a view no doubt to save his men who were being killed, hoisted a flag of truce,

and gave himself up to the chief. For a time it seemed as if their lives would be spared; but at last Rangiaeta, the chief whose wife had been killed, demanded the lives of the English gentlemen, as payment for her death; a demand, which according to native custom, could not be refused. They were all put to death! with sixteen others killed by the natives in pursuit—in all twenty-three persons; twenty-six escaped, some to the brig and some into the woods, where they remained till the return of the vessel from Wellington.

The attack upon the natives is generally considered to have been illegal throughout; but it must be attributed altogether to a mistaken sense of duty on the part of the principal persons concerned in it. The police magistrate has always acted in behalf of the natives in the most friendly manner, and I believe that a more humane or judicious man than the Company's Agent did not exist, or one more desirous of promoting a good understanding between the two races. Unhappily they had little knowledge of the native language or character, a defect which is the fruitful cause of daily misunderstandings. The settlers at Wellington and Nelson are forming themselves into a militia, and erecting batteries; but I am fully convinced that these preparations are unnecessary, so long as strict justice, in a form intelligible to the native mind is visible throughout all the transactions of the English settlers.

I may add as a striking contrast to the foregoing narrative, that the son of the principal chief engaged in the slaughter, Te Rauparaha, was engaged at the same time in another part of the same island, on a missionary journey of inquiry into the number and condition of the native inhabitants, undertaken at the request of Mr. Hadfield, the missionary at Kapiti. Te Rauparaha himself, though he has not been converted, still acknowledges Mr. Hadfield's pastoral authority over his people, by speaking of them to him as, O taua, tamariki! "The children of us two." Rangihaeata, his companion in the late affray, is one of the few natives of New Zealand to whom the name of savage can justly be applied.

The effect of this disaster will be, I should fear, materially to retard the progress of the settlement for

which I shall be very sorry, as the plans of the Nelson Company were formed with a regard to religion and education, which I still hope will not be without the fruit which was expected from it. The colony will I trust still prosper, though there has been a grievous blow to it in its infancy. Unhappily Mr. Reay, the clergyman now stationed at Nelson, and who on former occasions had acted as mediator between the settlers and the natives, had gone to Auckland when the calamity occurred.

The bishop during his stay at Otaki had kept school at which the chiefs Rauparaha and Rangihaeata attended his classes: the former protested against killing the prisoners taken at the Wairau, and wished to go to Wellington to show that he harboured no unfriendly feelings towards the settlers, but he was afraid to go alone. The bishop allowed him to join his party, but when he got into the town he was so frightened that he begged to be allowed to sleep at the parsonage under the bishop's protection. Rangihaeata the bishop would never receive after the evil deed of which he believed him guilty, and he continued to be troublesome till Sir G. Grey made peace with him and gave him a gig. In order to use this luxury he caused roads to be made, and thus was kept out of mischief.

Before this unexpected and calamitous outbreak, and which, humanly speaking, was limited to the scene of its origin wholly by the influence of the Rev. O. Hadfield with the natives, the bishop was working hopefully at the little College, and an amusing letter to his sister explains the manner of life which obtained under the roof of the Episcopal Palace.

St. John's College, Waimate,
July 4th, 1843.

My dear Fanny,

Our little college assumes a regular form, and already gives me promise of a supply of men duly qualified to serve God in the ministry of His Church. We have already nine students, three of whom I hope will be admitted to deacon's orders in September.

I suppose that Sarah has given you an account of our mode of life, which will amuse you. Mrs. Watts is college cook, and bakes and cooks for the whole body, so that ladies as well as gentlemen are free to attend to reading and teaching. The college kitchen is regulated upon the plan of a kitchen at Cambridge, supplying regular "commons" to every member; and providing "sizings" or extras to those who like to order. Each person's "commons," including tea, sugar, meat, bread, and potatoes, amounts to one shilling per diem, which is the uniform expense of every person in the establishment. We all dine together in hall, in all forty-two persons, thus:

Upper Table.—Bishop, Mrs. Selwyn, Mr. and Mrs. Dudley, Mr. Cotton, and two visitors	7
Student's Table.—Four married and three unmarried students ...	11
Collegiate School Boys	7
Native School Boys (Boarding School)	11
Household—Five English, one Native	6
	42

It is supposed that we equal Downing College, Cambridge, in the number of our married students, but as the Cambridge calendar takes no notice of ladies, I am not certain on this point.

Many of our students are able to sing, so that we have the Psalms chanted morning and evening, but at present we have no organ. The effect, however, of our nine or ten voices, with the ladies and schoolboys, is far from being inharmonious.

At the end of seven years, if we may look forward to so distant a period, we hope to send William to England. I used to think of *bringing* him, but the more I see of my diocese the less prospect I have of being able to be absent for a year within the next ten or fifteen years. If I could get some good archdeacons from England the case would be altered, but there seems to be a conspiracy of papas and mammas against New Zealand and me, four of my personal friends, if not five, being prevented by such interference from following the leading of their own hearts, and joining me.

Sarah is in high favour with the natives, who love a cheerful eye, and friendly manner. Her name is "Matta

Pihopa," *Mother Bishop*, a title of respect with them though not conveying a similar idea when translated literally into English. They all say that her "*atawai*" (grace) is great, a praise which she has in common with Mrs. Martin, who with the aid of Mrs. Smith, wins golden opinions from the Maoris. Our native school on board the Tomatin has been of the greatest possible service to us all, though I regret to say that our schoolmaster, Rupai, my native boy, has fulfilled the predictions of Sir William Hooker and others, and returned to his native habits.

We have also a little printing-press in constant operation, printing native lessons, and skeleton sermons for the native teachers; college regulations, bills, receipts; in fact doing everything that we require for the routine of our business. We have also in the press a translation of Archdeacon Wilberforce's *Agathos* for the use of the natives. Mr. Nihill is syndic of the press with William Watts for his pressman, who is also time-keeper, and rings the bell (given to us by Mr. Whytehead's brother, out of the metal of the bells in York Minster), at stated times, ending by striking the hour.

I have held two Ordinations, one at Wellington, at which Mr. Mason was admitted to priest's orders, in the presence of 400 natives, the other at the Waimate, when Mr. Davis, one of the senior catechists of the Church mission, was ordained deacon. I have also held six Confirmations, at which 700 natives and a few English have been confirmed.

After the aristocratic recollections of Eton, it is amusing to compare our school at the Waimate: fustian jackets and corduroy trousers are the order of the day, which are so far from being a disadvantage that they facilitate the industrial plans of the school, the boys being employed in gardening, turning, carpenter's work, printing, and the like. Many years must elapse before there will be room for a fine gentleman in this country, and therefore we endeavour, as much as possible, to keep out what some one has called the "gentleman heresy" from among us. . . . .

You will gather from this letter that we are very happy and beginning to feel settled for life, with roots striking deeper and deeper into the soil of this loveable country, which from the similarity of its climate to England and the friendly character of its inhabitants, soon acquires that

power and influence over the heart by which domestic feelings and sympathies are established.

In September 1843 the Bishop held an Ordination at which the three students of his little College mentioned in the letter to his sister were made Deacons, and four days later in a little schooner of twenty tons he was off for Auckland, and thence for an extended Visitation, while the deacons were scattered, one going to Tauranga, one to Taranaki (New Plymouth), and one to Nelson. The establishment at the Waimate was closed for the long vacation. At the Kerikeri, in the Bay of Islands, in a stone house which had been a store of the Church Missionary Society whence the Missionaries had obtained their supplies, the Bishop was at home amid the delights of precious books. His diary has the following entries :—

"*October* 5.—Wind still contrary. Cleared the Cathedral Library at the Kerikeri store, of all superfluous lumber. Dusted and arranged the theological parts on the shelves already there, and piled up all the general literature in one corner, to remain till new shelves can be made. Many hands made light work: Rev. H. Williams, Rev. R. Burrows, Rev. W. C. Cotton, myself, Mr. Nihill, and Mr. Fisher, all assisting and receiving payment for their work in Gospels of St. Matthew in the native language.

"*October* 6.—Completed the arrangement of the library. Wind still contrary.

"*October* 7.—A day of literary luxury. Sat looking upon the books, occasionally dipping into them. The very sight of so many venerable folios is most refreshing in this land, where everything is so new. The Eton books have a row to themselves."

The wind would seem to have continued perverse, and two days later enabled the Bishop to write the following letter :—

Cathedral Library, The Kerikeri,
Bay of Islands,
New Zealand,
October 9th, 1843.

My dear Lord Powis,

I have never been more forcibly reminded of Powis Castle than during the last four days, in which I have been detained at this place by contrary winds, and have occupied myself and my party in arranging the valuable library which was presented to me by numerous friends before my departure. The building in which they are placed, and in which I am now writing, is of massive stone, not equalling in thickness the walls of Powis Castle, but giving the same character of solidity, which accords well with the solid and venerable character of the contents of the library, including a complete set of the Fathers, and many ancient folios of Commentators, Councils, and Annals of the Church. Truth, however, compels me to add that, on an upper shelf, high out of reach, my eye lights upon a smart set of Scott's novels, calf extra, for the special use of the ladies who from time to time may honour me with their company. It may be that in course of time, when St. John's College increases in numbers, and easy chairs are multiplied (at present our stock here is one broken-backed chair and two planks laid upon bullock trunks) that this will be (as it is at the Cambridge University Library) the most frequented and best-read portion of my library. Among the lower and more venerable shelves I see as I sit *Septuaginta Aldi*, 1518, once well known in the left-hand corner of the glass book-case in my room at Powis Castle; Barrow's works, presented to me by Lady Powis on my marriage; Leighton, from the same source, I do not see, as it is at the Waimate. On the top of a copy of Irenæus, with the largest margin that I ever saw, and lying down for want of shelves sufficiently lofty, are the Bible and Prayer-Book presented (as the title-page bears) to the Bishop of New Zealand, "with the best wishes of his affectionate pupils at Powis Castle." With these memorials before my eyes, I write to express my best wishes to your lordship and Lady Powis, and all "my affectionate pupils at Powis Castle," with my prayers that every blessing, temporal and eternal, may be upon you. . . . .

The first term of six months at St. John's College has just closed, and the long vacation of five months has just begun, during which I propose to pay a second visit to the southern settlements, and to work my way along the eastern coast of the Middle Island towards the south, and then to cross over to Stewart's Island; from thence to take ship to the Chatham Islands, and so, God willing, to return home to the Waimate about the middle of March. Mrs. Selwyn intends to spend the summer with her friend and fellow-voyager Mrs. Martin (the wife of the Chief Justice) at Auckland.

My last term ended with the ordination of three deacons, who had been a long time under preparation for Holy Orders. Here I have felt deeply the loss of my dear friend Mr. Whytehead; in other respects I can scarcely think him lost, so much does his memory still seem to bless and hallow the place where we laid him in his grave. Lord Clive will share my sorrow, as he knows what a companion I have lost. . . .

The late fatal affray at Nelson will, I fear, have given a bad impression of the natives of this country. This, as a general apprehension, is altogether unfounded. The assurance of safety given by the character of the people is so remarkable, that I question whether the thought of danger ever entered the minds of any one of our party, except when a "taua," or armed party, came to the Waimate to demand payment for some ducks which some of our young men had shot upon a "tapu," sacred water. Of course I refused to recognise their heathen customs, but finding that the "tapu" meant no more than our English word "preserve," I confessed that the young men had done wrong in poaching, and referred them to the text of Zacchæus as my rule in such matters, viz. to restore fourfold. The authority of a text of Scripture being undisputed even by the heathen part of the nation, I paid them twenty-four shillings, being four times the market price of the six ducks, with which they went away apparently satisfied.

We have no fastenings to our windows, even on the ground-floor, and the door is rarely locked. In travelling I pitch my tent at whatever place I happen to reach at nightfall, and am always hospitably received. In the

course of some hundreds of miles of travelling I have never lost anything. In the matter of land, about which the quarrel at Nelson arose, hundreds of thousands of acres of land have been regularly sold and conveyed to the English in other parts of the island, written deeds being duly signed, and in no instance, that I am aware of, has a sale ever been disputed, when all the conditions have been duly fulfilled in the first instance. This is in fact a very wonderful people, and I grow more and more attached to them the longer I live among them. It will still, however, require much time and perseverance before they can be made a civilized nation.

The enforced leisure at the Kerikeri produced another letter of about the same date, addressed to theRev. Edward Coleridge.

CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, THE KERIKERI,
Oct. 7th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A windbound party is assembled here, at this place which is the Aulis of our Argonautic expeditions, waiting for a change of weather to allow of our sailing for Auckland. We arrived on Wednesday the 4th, and Sarah immediately went on board the *Union*, a small schooner now lying waiting for us about four miles down the river; but she had scarely reached the vessel when the wind changed to the eastward, and sealed the outlet of the Bay of Islands against us. We therefore returned to the Mission Station occupied by Mr. Kemp; and were thankful to find ourselves in good quarters, when the wind increased to a violent gale; which has continued without intermission to the present day. On the 5th and 6th we busied ourselves in clearing and arranging the cathedral library, and are now enjoying the fruits of our labour, sitting quietly reading and writing in the best and best-furnished roof in New Zealand. Mr. Cotton is on one side of the fire sitting on a box, Sarah on the other side, reading a large folio upon the original desk which I had in my study, and sitting upon the only chair of which the room at present can boast. Mrs. Burrows (wife of the clergyman of Kororarika) is sitting reading at my left hand on a seat composed of two long planks intended for

additional shelves, resting upon three bullock-trunks, and covered with mauds. You will understand therefore that my eulogies of the furniture of the room apply to the books, which are now disposed on five kauri shelves reaching the whole length of the room, 27 feet; the central shelf being occupied by a brilliant row, for which I am indebted to Eton alone: beginning with a long line of bright octavos reaching to the centre, where St. Augustine stands like a tower, between the light bindings of the Eton books and the deeper shades of W. E. Gladstone's goodly store of English divinity. Massive folios of Fathers and Commentators fill the lower compartments. The building in which these treasures are contained deserves some description. It is a structure of solid stone with walls 2 feet in thickness, nearly 40 feet long by 30 wide, and two stories in height. The library is on the first floor, 27 feet by 19, with four windows, from one of which I look out upon the windings of the Kerikeri River towards the Bay; from another on the waterfall, which lulls us to sleep every night (and sometimes be it confessed in the day also) by its murmur: the third, as I sit, shows the Mission House, and the fourth is admitting the gleams of the setting sun, which give us hopes of a change of weather for to-morrow. When the Sunday's calm shall have rested upon the waters, we hope to sail on Monday for Auckland. Sarah hopes to stay with Mrs. Martin during my absence at the south, where the perfect quiet of an invalid's house, and the absence of all domestic cares of her own, will, I hope, recruit her strength, which has been much tried by the new and unsettled life which she has led for the last two years. Everything now, I thank God, tends to repose. In case the college should be too much for her, I have now secured her a most charming retreat in the cathedral library, and another room of equal size in the lower story; where the quiet is as unbroken as the most nervous person could desire; and in this respect entirely different from the inevitable noise of wooden buildings. Here also, I may retire in my old age (which will probably be premature), and superintend my college at the Waimate without being subject to all its perturbations. But all these matters are in the hands of God; and there I am content to leave them; but the thought binds me

more to this country; and that is the feeling which I wish to encourage. I now seem to know where I should most wish to be in my manhood, in my old age, and after my death.

The charm of this library is that it is so utterly uncolonial. Its atmosphere is the true "Opic mus."[1] Its walls are worthy of a college. My books carry me back to the first ages of the Church. It is true that when I step outside the door I stumble over a mass of utilitarian treasures. Bales of blankets, iron pots, barrels of all kinds, rusty rat-traps and saws, old chains, grindstones, &c., are the miscellaneous furniture of my ante-chambers; but within everything that can most elevate and purify the mind is to be found. Leisure alone is at present wanting to us to use our treasures: but as the Church system is developed, and active archdeacons stationed at all the principal settlements, I hope to be able to give myself more to meditation and every other profitable exercise, that there may be some abundance in my own heart to flow forth for the benefit of my diocese.

The voyage that was thus inauspiciously commenced was of unusual duration, lasting into the second quarter of the next year. There were also unusual difficulties of travelling in the Visitation on land, and some of the bishop's companions were not as proficient in the art of travel as himself. The rivers were in flood and fording was dangerous. Mr. Taylor, a missionary in the bishop's party, could not swim, and the bishop's air bed was inflated and fixed in an impromptu framework of sticks, and towed across the river with Mr. Taylor enthroned upon it.

December brought the bishop to the Wairau, and here he preached from Isaiah v. 30.—"If one look unto the land, behold sorrow," making special reference to the unhappy collision between whites and natives in the previous year.

The festival of Christmas found him in the mission of Mr. Hadfield, at Waikanae, admiring the beautiful church built since his last visit, of which the ridge pole, hewn

[1] "Et divina Opici rodebant carmina Mures."—*Juvenal* iii. 207.

from a single tree was the appropriate peace-offering of a people with whom the Waikanae people had long been at war. On the last day of the year (which fell on Sunday) the bishop preached to a full church and ministered to 130 communicants. In the afternoon, accompanied by Mr. Hadfield, he rode to Otaki, where the first persons to meet him at the entrance of the Pa were Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, names only too well known in connection with the Wairau massacre.

"Thus ended a year of mercies and blessings," is the entry in the bishop's diary on December 31, 1843.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW ZEALAND.

[1844-1846.]

THE first three months of 1844 were given to the completion of the Visitation commenced at Michaelmas in the preceding year. The bishop reached Otago, the southernmost portion of the diocese, and on his journey down was confronted, in a region which he probably expected to find a spiritual desert, by religious dissensions. In a place where no English teacher had ever been seen the natives had been carefully warned by teachers of their own race against Hahi (Church), and had been prejudiced in favour of Weteri (Wesley). The miserable dissensions thus generated destroyed much of the bishop's satisfaction at this part of his Visitation, as his time was taken up "in answering unprofitable questions."

The voyage in the little *Perseverance* belonging to Tuhawaiki, a native chief, was made the most of: the little cabin, nine feet by five, was assigned to the bishop, reserving only the right of way to the master and his wife when passing to their berth amidships; but the wind allowing the ship to sail near the dangerous coast, and the crew being perfectly familiar with every nook in which a vessel could lie, the bishop availed himself of the instruction thus to be acquired and stored up against a future day, and spent his time between reading in the cabin and

frequently emerging up the companion-ladder to take marks of the coast, and to write down places on the map. One of the bishop's companions was Tamihana, the son of Te Rauparaha, who had been mixed up in the Wairau outbreak: the son had formerly traversed as a Christian teacher the whole of the region which the father had overrun with a war party.

While on board the little *Perseverance* the bishop wrote to Mr. Hadfield a letter which has special significance, as showing that he declined to recognise the mere presence of a Dissenting teacher in a given district as a proof that that district was under Christian instruction. This is the more important, inasmuch as the bishop's caution in refraining from occupying any islands in the Melanesian group where teachers had already settled themselves, and of which he was wont to say, "Nature has divided our mission field for us," has been often quoted as a precedent for abstaining from work in countries which some Sect had already claimed on the ground of a very partial occupation. The letter of the bishop shows that, with all his moderation and respect for the work of others who differed from him, he was very decided in saying, "We must hold our own."

SCHOONER "PERSEVERANCE," CHIEF TUHAWAIKI,
AT SEA OFF OTAKOU, *Feb.* 13*th*, 1844.

MY DEAR MR. HADFIELD,

As I may have little time to write to you from Akaroa, towards which place we are rapidly advancing with a fine southerly breeze, I begin to prepare a letter for my friend Tamihana to convey to you. You will have heard from Mr. Cole that I left Wellington on the 6th of January in the schooner *Richmond*. . . . Throughout this island controversy has preceded truth, and as usual darkened true knowledge. The position of affairs is very singular. I cannot learn that Mr. Watkin [the Wesleyan teacher] or any of his teachers visited the principal native settlements, Te Wai-a-te Ruati, Ruapuke, and Rarotonga, before

your teacher's arrival. It is agreed by all these that their *karakia* began in consequence of our teacher's visit. During three of the four years that Mr. Watkin has been at Waikouaiti, he had but one Testament; and his weak health prevented him from visiting, so that I do not find that he has been to any places but Otakou and Moerangi, besides his own settlement of Waikouaiti. All at once, a few months ago, his committee seem to have recollected that there was such a person in the world, and sent him down a flood of 500 Testaments, after leaving him for three years with one only: and with these his teachers have contrived to withdraw from us one half or more of our congregations at Te Wai-a-te Ruati, and Ruapuke. At Rarotonga they are still united with us, under Te Manablea, a native baptized by you. This little village, the most distant point of my journey, is a bright spot in the midst of a good deal of misgiving, for I found there a chapel built; a united congregation of more than 100 (when all assembled); a reading class of sixteen or eighteen, of whom I baptized two, who appeared to feel deeply. Mr. Watkin complains of your obtruding your teachers upon his district; but I cannot ascertain that any attempt was made by him or his friends to make it their district till after our teachers had spent a whole year in teaching the people, and had been blessed with a considerable measure of success. I cannot recognise the mere fact of his residence at Waikouaiti as entitling him to the spiritual care of all the southern islands. Our interview was most friendly, and I stayed one day and a half in his house; but I told him that I could make no transfer of catechumens; that we must hold our own.

The half-caste population in the Straits cannot be less than 100; they are at a very critical age. Something vigorous must be done for them. Where the fathers and mothers had been living together for some years I married them and baptized their children: in all twenty-five couples married and sixty-one children baptized. I must have a visiting clergyman in the Straits as soon as possible, but where to find a man fit for the work I know not. His life must be amphibious; and the animal magnetism of his home capable of being overcome. Many of the old whalers and sealers are settling down into a more

quiet life, and are to a man anxious that their children should not follow the course of life which they have led themselves.

I have been much pleased with Tamihana. He is not very adroit in controversy, and sometimes a little overbearing; but he is a good-hearted and earnest youth, and I shall be happy to see him at the Waimate whenever you think it desirable to send him.

The controversy which confronted the bishop on this journey did not cease to distress him when he had left it behind him, and reflection did not suggest to him the usual resource of a timid and indifferent compromise. Soon after his return to the Waimate he wrote to a friend in England:—

"My first charge, if I ever find time to write it, will be an attempt to deduce a plan of operations, suitable to the peculiar case of New Zealand, from the records of the first three centuries of the Church. In my endeavours to avoid all party shibboleths I am much assisted by the natural effect of the native Church in enforcing simplicity of doctrine and regularity of discipline. I hope to make this a fulcrum for moving the chaotic mass of the English settlements, which are more like a fortuitous concourse of atoms than anything else, with the additional disadvantage that every atom has an opinion and voice of his own, and thinks himself a mountain. So that my first problem is, how to give tenacity to a rope of sand."

It was probably with the hope of gaining some of this tenacity that the bishop summoned in September of this year a Synod of the Clergy of his diocese: three archdeacons, four other priests, and two deacons assembled: it was the first experiment of the kind which the Anglican Communion had witnessed since Convocation was silenced in England. The avowed object of the gathering was "to frame rules for the better management of the mission and the general government of the Church," and the subjects debated were limited to questions of Church discipline and Church extension: nothing would seem more simple

or natural than such a gathering; nevertheless the news of its doings reached England with the utmost speed compatible with a voyage of 12,000 miles, and some good people saw in it priestly assumption, and others discovered in it an infringement of the royal supremacy. But strange to say, nothing happened save that the precedent thus acquired led to a more formal synod being held in 1847, and ultimately to a synodal organization, provincial and diocesan, as perfect as can anywhere be produced.

Unfortunately while the little synod attracted unfriendly criticism, its modest canons did not attract an equal measure of publicity: they were well worthy of careful and attentive study, dealing as they did in a practical way with problems which confront a missionary in a new country, and sometimes are to be met with even in England.

In the case of infants being brought to baptism in places where sponsors could not be obtained, instead of the superfluous and unecclesiastical method of allowing the parents to become sponsors, it was decreed that the children should be baptized on the application of their parents, who also gave a written pledge to submit their children to the education of the Church. A separate registry was kept of all children thus baptized, who were considered to be "under the sponsorship of the Church."

On the difficult question of admitting polygamists to the order of catechumens the Synod decreed that no bigamist or polygamist should be received, but that "a woman, being one of two or more wives of a heathen man, not having power over her own body, but subject to her husband, may be received and admitted to baptism without separation from her husband." No heathen was admissible to marriage according to the rites of the Church, neither was the baptism of heathens to be hastened with a view to their marriage, "but rather, inasmuch as it is reasonable to believe that a lower degree of faith may be accepted as a qualification for marriage than that which is necessary for the due reception of baptism,

that they be marriageable on their admission into the class of catechumens."

In August 1844, in conjunction with the Chief Justice and Mr. Swainson, the Attorney-General of New Zealand, the bishop selected a site near to Auckland, accessible both by land and by water, to which he determined to remove St. John's College. At the Waimate it had passed through the experimental stage and had proved its utility; and now it was to assume a more permanent position, and be located in stone buildings instead of lightly constructed wooden houses. While providing for the material condition of the college, the bishop looked forward eagerly to the day when his friend Mr. Abraham should fulfil his promise of joining him and should take spiritual charge of the institution, and amid scenes and anxieties from which even colonial bishops may expect an immunity, but which were in full measure the lot of Bishop Selwyn, he wrote the following letter:—

H.M.S. "HAZARD," COOK'S STRAITS,
August 7th, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Among all the disappointments which I have experienced in the failure, from various causes, of all the support which I expected from other friends, your stedfast adherence to your original purpose has been the comfort and refreshment of my heart. My hopes of co-operation are now limited to you alone; but this alone is far more than I could have had any right or reason to expect. Still more does it give me pleasure to think, that the step which you have just taken, so far from seeming to stand in the way of my wishes, gives me the strongest hope of ultimately enjoying your assistance. For by your resignation of the most lucrative portion of your office, you have weaned yourself from that to which many cling too closely to be willing to devote their services to a poor bankrupt colony, to preach as one said "to savages and settlers." Rejoicing most heartily in the spirit which has led you to undertake the charge of the collegers, I pray that God's blessing may be with you in that work till the time shall

come when you may see fit to transfer your services to the Church of New Zealand.

In the meantime, I think that it may be well to put before you some definite idea of the position in which it would be the wish of my heart to see you placed.

The Northern Island of New Zealand I purpose to divide into five Archdeaconries: viz. 1. The Waimate; 2. Waitemata; 3. Tauranga; 4. Waiapu; 5. Kapiti.

The Archdeaconry of Waitemata will be the metropolitan district, in which St. John's College and my central schools will, I hope, be situated. I had designed the office of Archdeacon of this district for my dear friend, Mr. Whytehead, intending to place him in the position of Principal and Resident Manager of my collegiate institution; from which my duties of visitation take me away more frequently than is good for the young men and boys *in statu pupillari*. Still with Mr. Cotton's most friendly and zealous assistance we are able to hold on, and I think are in a fair way to gain the confidence of the public; but if we should succeed in this we shall immediately want a much greater regularity of system in consequence of the increase of numbers. For the next few years we may do very well, but nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be able to look forward to your joining me at the critical time, to take Mr. Whytehead's office upon you, as Archdeacon of Waitemata and Principal of St. John's College. If you will allow me to look upon you in this character, I will endeavour in the interval to nurse endowments for scholarships and exhibitions, and to erect buildings, which shall enable you at once to feel that you are in a position of efficiency, small it may be in its amount of usefulness, as compared with those institutions which you will have left, but not on that account the less full of hope and cheerful anticipation for the future.

* * * * *

I rejoice in the prosperity to which Eton has been raised. The progress and increase of the schools cannot safely be attributed to anything else than to the *gradual elevation of the minds of the masters by the influence of religion.* The privilege which some masters have enjoyed of occasionally sanctifying and searching their hearts by ministerial duties seems to have been, under God, the means by

which this has been effected: in proof of which it may safely be alleged, that the pupils of those masters who have followed that course have been eminent for their own consistency of conduct, and apparent depth of religious principle.

In concert with the Bishop of Australia the bishop was all this time steadily aiming at synodal action being established in Australasia, and the letter which follows shows how much he rested on it, and how lightly he thought of State alliance and support:—

H.M.S. "Hazard," at Sea, Bay of Plenty,
August 16*th*, 1844.

My dear Brother,

A disagreement between the natives and the settlers at Taranaki, which seemed at first to threaten serious consequences, has brought me away from home in the middle of my college term, and I am now returning in company with the Governor, who has, I hope, appeased the commotion. I avail myself as usual of the leisure of shipboard to write as many letters as I can; and though I have no papers on board with me, I am conscious of being in your debt.

The case of Tahiti still presses upon my mind; but I scarcely know how to act. In the present state of this country, I dare not be absent for so long a time as would be necessary for a run to the islands and back; and I am doubtful about the expediency of writing a friendly letter to the missionaries, to invite any of their youths, and especially the queen's sons, to come to me for education. My native schools are now open; therefore I should be able to receive them; but I fear that difference of religious persuasion would make the island missionaries more willing to send their youths to some of their own brethren in the neighbouring countries, than to me. If, however, any opening should occur, you will understand me to be as willing as ever, and perhaps better prepared than before, to act upon your suggestion.

As I have now entered upon my third year in New Zealand, I am reminded of our engagement to meet, if possible at Sydney; but as you are my senior, I wish I

could say ecclesiastically my Metropolitan, I must await your suggestion as to the time; premising that I cannot conveniently obey your summons earlier than June 1845. It seems that our Tasmanian brother is in some difficulty, which I do not fully understand, but which appears to arise from the dependence of his clergy upon the Colonial Government; and that the difficulty is of such magnitude as to induce him to detach his archdeacon to negotiate at home. On such points as these, where the defects of the old system in any one of our dioceses are apparent, it may be well to avail ourselves of the proposed meeting to agree upon some strong remonstrance, which may help to strengthen the hands of those friends who are working in England on our behalf. For myself, I have little to complain of, but am perfectly satisfied with the position in which the State has been pleased to place the Church and myself: knowing that the State here has nothing to give to the Church; and being able to take care that it takes nothing away from us of that which is our own. But I will gladly unite in any remonstrance, which may be likely to help to free our good brother from the difficulties of which he complains. If you will collect from your own experience and his observation such important points as these, on which it is desirable for us to confer, we shall have data, upon which it may be possible to frame such a memorial or representation to influential friends at home as may help us to a better code of laws for the colonial churches. In all these matters, I place myself under your guidance.

You will have received a little note from me announcing the birth of our second son, whom we have called John Richardson after his excellent grandfather, some of whose good qualities we pray that he may inherit. Mother and babe I hope to find quite well on my return, God willing, before the end of this month.

Captain Fitzroy is very friendly and co-operative; though we do not altogether agree on Church matters. In compliance with his instructions, but without my concurrence, he applied to the Legislative Council for an increase of salary for me, and for the payment of my travelling expenses; but was left in a minority of two, all the non-official and most of the official members voting

against him. This decides the question of my position as regards the colony; and I am glad of it, because now no one can say that I have separated the Church from the State. They have themselves cast us off; avowing as a reason for their refusal, that all denominations were equal in the eye of the State.

The prospectus of the Bishop's College has shown [p. 134] how highly he valued industrial training and now he found time for the humble, but not on that account insignificant task of introducing a knowledge of knitting and spinning among the Maoris: it grieved him to see wool buried in the ground as a thing of no value, because the natives knew not how to transfer it from the backs of the sheep to their own, and he sought assistance in this matter from one who he knew would willingly help.

To the Countess of Powis.

St. John's College, The Waimate,
Bay of Islands, New Zealand,
April 18th, 1844.

Your kind letter of the 14th June [1843] met me on the 6th March, on which day I returned to Auckland from my southern tour to the Middle Island and Stewart's Island, where I have been making an inroad upon the whaling and sealing stations, not without necessity, as may be judged by the fact that I baptized seventy-one children in places hitherto unvisited by a clergyman. These were chiefly the children of English fathers by native mothers, a race which in the Southern Islands is rapidly replacing the native population, which is dying away. I have now a bird's-eye view in my mind of my whole diocese, and a beautiful mental map it is, if looked upon, as it may be, at the distance of fifty years, peopled with an orderly and godly race of settlers, residing in the hundreds and thousands of fertile valleys, watered by the clear and sparkling streams, which flow from the fine wooded hills with which the neighbourhood of the coast is bounded.

The interior alone presents features of desolation, in the vast tracts of volcanic ground thinly covered with a stunted vegetation. . . .

Knowing your interest in such matters, I wish for advice, founded on your Scotch and Welsh experience, as to the mode of introducing the manufacture of coarse cloth into my native schools, with a view to enabling the natives to clothe themselves. If the Welsh are obliged to make their own clothes by hand-looms, though they are so close to Manchester, because they have no export to give in exchange for manufactured goods, it seems evident that we can never have our natives effectually clad for the same reason, except by domestic manufactures. They do not like horned cattle, from the difficulty of managing them; but I think that they would be induced to keep sheep if they could see the intermediate processes by which the fleece is transferred from the back of the sheep to that of the man. If the Welsh peasantry have any simple machinery for their cottage manufactures which could be introduced into my industrial schools it would be most acceptable, either in model or full-size. As my children are all boarders they have plenty of time to devote to such employments, and some of them already sew very nicely. They are certainly as tractable and docile as English children. Knitting-pins and worsted would be very useful. A very general desire for English clothing at present prevails, which may be turned to good account. My brother Charles will be happy to take care of anything which you may be able to procure to assist in Cambro-Britonizing my people. Wales supplies me with many arguments both to the natives and English. I tell the former that one large portion of the British nation still make their own clothes from their own flocks; and to the latter I argue that if farming will maintain families in North Wales, where the crops are sometimes on the ground at Christmas, much more will it in New Zealand, where the harvest seldom if ever fails.

Some of our settlers are in a great hurry to abolish the native language and substitute English; to them I cite the example of Oswestry, an English town with Welsh service in the parish to this day. It is true that in Welshpool it was supposed to be so completely abolished that the refined

ears of the congregation objected to a certain curate's Welsh accent, but this is a rare case.

If I should ever return to England, of which however I have no idea, I am afraid my speech will have such a Maori accent that I shall be inadmissible to Mr. Clive's pulpit. Certain it is that whenever I attempt to speak French I inadvertently fall into native words, which caused great amusement when I dined on board the French corvette *Le Rhin*, now stationed at Akaroa.

The political aspect of the colony had grown increasingly threatening through the whole of this anxious year, and to the bishop the anxiety thus caused was quite as great as it was to the civil authorities. But the whole story must be told, and cannot be told more truly or more graphically than in the bishop's own words. The account which follows, of two very anxious and disturbed years, is taken from the bishop's letter to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins.

H.M. Colonial Brig "Victoria,"
Bay of Plenty,
Easter Eve, 1845.

. . . . . .

I now proceed to the main subject of my letter, which is, *the relations between the English settlers and the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand.*

You may recollect, that in my former letter on the disaster at the Wairau, I expressed the opinion that we had nothing to fear from the native people, if they were treated with ordinary justice. Recent events make it necessary that I should state how far this opinion is now qualified or changed. In two principal respects the above assertion is too broad and general.

1. The state of anarchy among the natives themselves.

2. The discontented and insubordinate temper of our own settlers.

1. The authority of the native chiefs over their own tribes has been much weakened by many causes; among which the following are perhaps the most weighty:—

The pacification of the country leading to the dispersion of the people into detached hamlets, where the authority of the chief is feebly felt, if at all.

The establishment of the order of native teachers, whose influence in many cases is as great as that of the chiefs.

The abolition of many heathen usages, by which the respect for the chiefs was maintained.

The emancipation of slaves reducing the power of the chief, who was the great slaveholder in former times.

The practical effect of this breaking-up of the old feudal system, before any other had been established to supply its place, has been to leave each man, in a measure, free to do what seems good in his own eyes. Though I would still repeat my former opinion, that we have nothing to fear from the native people in a mass, I am not prepared to say that there are not many individuals among them of whom we must be cautious, because they neither recognise our laws nor are under awe of any authority among themselves.

2. The second general qualification of my former opinion is rendered necessary by the discontented and insubordinate temper of our own settlers.

This source of evil to the country I was inclined formerly to underrate: believing that the quickness and intelligence of the natives would enable them to see through the insidious statements which were made to them, by designing persons, against the government, the missionaries, myself, and all persons who took an active part on their behalf. The one general imputation against all of us was a concealed intention of dispossessing the natives of their land, and reducing them to slavery. In support of this, the acts of our countrymen in other lands were related to them; they were told how the coloured man had been used in New South Wales, in Van Diemen's Land, and in India: it was insinuated that a different policy was adopted in New Zealand, only because they were a strong and warlike people, with arms in their hands: that here the plan was, first to send missionaries to soften the fierceness of their disposition, and to suppress their habits of war: and then gradually to garrison the country with soldiers; and so to proceed to enslave and exterminate the inhabitants. Against these reports we have all had to contend from the first, paying the penalty, by a just principle of retribution, for the acts

of our countrymen in other lands. The treaty of Waitangi was asserted to be a document, in which the native chiefs were induced to sign away their rights and possessions: and the missionaries were constantly blamed for having assisted the governor in recommending it to them for adoption. We all on the contrary declared it to be a measure highly beneficial to the people; by which they obtained the protection of the British Government, instead of becoming an object of contention to the great commercial nations of the world, and assured them in the most solemn manner, that no land would be taken from them which they were not willing to sell: and that all their other rights of person and property would be respected. To our great surprise and grief, all our assertions have been falsified, by the late Report of the House of Commons, by which all lands not actually occupied by the natives are declared to be vested in the Crown: and by a despatch of Lord Stanley, in which it seems to be proposed to tax their waste lands, and in default of payment to confiscate them to the Crown. The natives of New Zealand will not bear this uncertainty; they can see the merits of a question as clearly as we can; but if they detect us in a falsehood, or even in a change of purpose, the reason of which they cannot understand, our influence with them is lost.

The British Government further came into this country with great professions of the good which it would do to the native people: much was said of native reserves and funds for the support of native institutions; no part of which has ever been fulfilled. Native Protectors were appointed, who for some time were employed chiefly in conducting the purchases of land made by the Government; and since their exemption from this duty, in consequence of the loss of influence with the natives which it caused, they have done nothing more than meet the current difficulties of the day, without advancing the people in civilization or intelligence. The Government was consequently left without any moral witness in the eyes of the natives of its desire to promote their real interests, or to hasten their amalgamation with ourselves. The insinuations of our disaffected settlers were left to work without any antidote to neutralize the poison.

Though there were many defects in the mission system, and though the acts of some of the missionaries had gone to favour the general imputation of a desire to dispossess the natives of their land, yet in the main, it had this advantage over the Government, that its principal object was the benefit of the aboriginal race; and that this desire was visibly attested by the chapels, schools, and mission-houses which were to be seen in all parts of the country. That the difference was not unremarked by the natives is evident from the fact, that when Kororareka was destroyed by fire, house after house, the two chapels, and the two parsonage houses were studiously preserved.

The first indication of disaffection to the British Government which I observed was in March 1843, from the same John Heke who has since made himself so conspicuous in his opposition to our government. Being engaged in taking a census of the native population of the Waimate district, I went to his place, a village named Kaikohe, and asked the names of himself and several other chiefs with whom he was sitting; upon which they all rose, and left me sitting by myself. I found on inquiry that they suspected me of an intention of sending their names to the Queen. For a long time my residence at the Waimate was supposed to have some connexion with the general scheme for taking forcible possession of the country. These suspicions were studiously favoured by travelling dealers, who abused their small knowledge of the native language to misrepresent the government and slander the missionaries. . . . .

About the middle of the year 1844, the flagstaff on the hill above Kororareka began to be talked of, as a sign of the assumption of New Zealand by the British Government. The decline of the prices of native produce, which had taken place since the removal of Governor Hobson to Auckland, was attributed to signals made on the staff to keep vessels of other nations from entering the port. The queen's flag flying upon it was considered a proof that the sovereignty of the native chiefs was at an end. Meetings began to be held, at which John Heke was the chief speaker, the subject of discussion being the cutting down of the flagstaff. In the month of August, 1844, Heke assembled a party of armed men, and proceeded to Koro-

rareka, where he spent Saturday and part of Sunday in alarming the inhabitants, and early on Monday morning mounted the hill, and cut down the staff. I was at Paihia at the time, engaged in the native school, at the close of which the first words which I heard were "kua hinga te kara:" "the colour has fallen." I shuddered at the thought of this beginning of hostilities; so full of presage of evil for the future. Heke then crossed to Paihia, and with his party danced the war-dance in my face; after which many violent speeches were made and they then returned to Kaikohe.

The governor, on hearing of this, despatched a vessel to Sydney for troops, which returned to the Bay of Islands in three weeks with 200 men. The governor had gone in the meantime in the *Hazard* sloop of war to settle a disturbance with the natives at Taranaki; whither I travelled by land and met him, and we returned together by sea to the Bay of Islands soon after the arrival of the troops. The whole force, naval and military, was collected at the Kerikeri ready to debark, and march into the interior; but at the urgent request of the friendly natives, the Governor went to the Waimate, attended only by Colonel Hulme of the 96th Regiment, and Captain Robertson of the *Hazard* sloop. We received his Excellency with such collegiate hospitality as we could provide: and assisted at a great meeting, at which he explained to the natives clearly and fully the intentions of the British Government; and assured them that he had no desire to take any violent means to vindicate the honour of the Crown; but should demand ten guns to be given up as an acknowledgment for the insult. A general cry of "Here they are!" was immediately raised, and some of the principal chiefs of the place brought them and laid them at his feet. The whole manner of the chiefs on the occasion was very pleasing and impressive. But Heke stood aloof and would not come to the meeting. The next day when the governor had gone he came to hear the particulars of the meeting; and to ascertain the reasons of my leaving the Waimate, which I assured him had no connexion whatever with the disturbed state of the country, but that letters which I had received from England had determined me to remove to Auckland. Accordingly in

the middle of November we embarked on board the *Victoria,* and sailed to Auckland, when Mr. Cotton settled at the college ground on the Tamati, and Mrs. Selwyn in a house hired for her near the town. In the beginning of December, I set out on my tour of confirmations through the districts of Manukau, Waikato, Waipa, Taupo, and Whanganui.

At Whanganui I found a "Taua" or fighting party of 170 natives, headed by Te Heuheu, the old chief of Taupo, who had come to avenge the manes of some relations, who had fallen in battle at Te Ihupuka, a Pa about twenty miles to the northward of the Whanganui river. The Taua encamped at the English settlement, and alarmed the inhabitants so much that an express was sent to Wellington for assistance. Accordingly, on the day after my arrival the *Hazard* came from Wellington, with Major Richmond, the superintendent of the southern division, on board. Major Richmond, Captain Robertson, and Messrs. McLean and Forsaith, native protectors, went immediately to the party, and insisted upon their behaving properly to the settlers, upon pain of being considered the queen's enemies, and left to the discretion of Captain Robertson and the force under his command. The threat was scarcely out of the superintendent's mouth before the *Hazard* was blown out to sea: and she did not return for a week. That night we watched with some anxiety in Mr. Taylor's house, on the opposite side of the river, where Major Richmond and Captain Robertson were lodged, in fear lest the Taua, resenting the threat which had been held out, should attack and plunder the English town, and then paddle in their canoes up the Whanganui river, which flows in a great chasm between wooded precipices, through a country covered with a dense forest, into which no English force could follow them without being cut off to a man. We had a party of 300 Christian natives assembled for confirmation, who had been already much exasperated by seeing their cultivations plundered by the strangers, and were well inclined to protect us. It was arranged that in the event of an attack upon the English town they should be ready to row to an appointed place, where the inhabitants were to form a hollow square on the beach for the protection of the women and children, till they could

be embarked on board the canoes, and ferried to the opposite shore. The night, however, passed away without any alarm; and the threat, unsupported by any physical force, was sufficient to stop the petty pilferings which had been committed nightly before the arrival of the *Hazard*. The principal chiefs, especially Te Heuheu, exerted themselves to repress these irregularities among their followers.

After a few days of negotiation, conducted chiefly by Mr. McLean, the protector, during which I had the more agreeable duty of examining and admitting to confirmation more than 300 native converts, it was agreed that the war party should go within sight of their enemies, fire off their guns, and dance their war-dance, in order to "whakapata te aitua," *i.e.* to let out the ill-omen (as a cenotaph would let out the "aitua," ἄγος ἐλαύνειν, of leaving a relation unburied); and then to return peaceably to their own place.

All these communications were conducted in the most friendly manner, with the single exception of one chief, who took occasion of offence at an allusion which I made to his ears being stopped, when he refused to listen to me, unless I would give him some tobacco. The ear and the whole of the head of a chief is considered sacred by the heathens; and may not be trespassed upon even by word of mouth. Of course I tendered an apology, which was not accepted; and his wife, a perfect virago, attacked me with genuine extract of the bush ("expressa arbusto convicia"), to which my ears were as deaf as her husband's sacred organ had been to me.

The principal chief Te Heuheu claimed acquaintance with Mr. Taylor and me, as having received us hospitably at Taupo in the previous year; a hint which we understood to mean that he wished for a present. We told him that we could give nothing till we knew his intentions, but that when we were sure that he would return quietly to his place, the gratitude for his kindness would be shown in some present to himself and his son: a promise which we afterwards performed by presenting him and his brother chiefs with four blankets, and as many trousers and shirts. This was construed by the English settlers into bribing the natives to go; and so far resented by them, that some absented themselves from church the following Sunday in

consequence of "the conduct of their ministers." Their wish seemed to be to bring on an engagement between the *Hazard's* men and the natives. a disposition unhappily too common among the settlers; but which they have now to unlearn.

In the hope of making peace between the two parties, Major Richmond and I walked to Te Ihupuku, where Mr. McLean, Mr. Bolland, and Mr. Skevington and Turton, Wesleyan missionaries, were engaged in communicating with the Taranaki natives on the same point. About midway we found a present of food and a letter addressed to Te Heuheu. The letter was friendly, but the food so scanty that it was considered by the Taua as an intentional insult; as they were not willing to consider that a force of 1,000 men assembled at one point for several weeks must have exhausted the provisions of the neighbourhood. As soon as Iwikau, the second in command to Te Heuheu, arrived at the spot and saw the present, he affected to fall into a violent passion, and acted to the life all the gestures of an infuriated savage; declaring that it was an intentional insult, and that we were the authors of it. We of course said nothing, and in a few minutes he changed his tone, and conversed with us as usual in a friendly manner. An old priest then approached the pile of food, circling round it at first at a cautious distance, but approaching nearer and nearer at each turn, and mumbling his prayers as he moved slowly along. When his "karakia" (charm) was completed, the suspected food was ordered to be burnt.

The war party slept that night at Kai-Iwi, half-way between Whanganui and the Waitotara river, on which Te Ihupuku stands. Major Richmond, Mr. Forsaith, and myself proceeded to the Pa, which we approached at sunset, just as the chapel bell was ringing for evening prayers. The Pa was much changed in appearance since my last visit; extensive fortifications having been added after the native fashion, formed of rows of upright stakes, crossed by longitudinal bars of wood: the whole bound firmly together with native flax and supplejack. We were welcomed with the greatest cordiality by the natives, and immediately invited to a general meeting, at which from 800 to 1,000 armed men of the Ngatiruanui and

Ngatimaru tribes were present. The principal chief opened the proceedings by a recommendation little attended to in civilized assemblies, requesting the orators to make short speeches. Mr. Forsaith, the protector of aborigines, then gave an account of all that had taken place—of the arrival of the war party from Taupo, of the negotiations between us; and of our desire to make peace between the hostile tribes; and inquired whether they were willing that the war party should come to the opposite side of the river Waitotara, which flows at the foot of the hill on which the Pa is built, to agree upon the conditions. A general assent seemed to be given to this proposition; but on the following morning we were informed that a small body of the natives were intending to rush out upon their enemies and attack them, which must have brought on a general engagement, though the great majority were peaceably inclined. Major Richmond and I, therefore, returned to meet the Taupo party, to let them know that if they advanced to the Pa, we could not be answerable for the consequences. We met them on an open sand-hill about four miles from the place, all crouching in the manner of a native force waiting for the signal to attack. Mr. Forsaith made a short speech, explaining the reasons of our return: upon which the old chief Te Heuheu rose and said, "I hoki rangatira mai koutou" (you have acted like gentlemen in coming back), and then called upon his men to do honour to the Pakeha. The whole body rose, fired a salute, and danced their war-dance; and in a few minutes were in full retreat along the beach to Whanganui, and I thanked God, that all danger of bloodshed was at an end. The rapidity of the retreat made us suspect that some of the young men intended to plunder the English settlement; the custom of all fighting parties on their return being to lay hands on everything that comes in their way. Major Richmond and I therefore walked as fast as we could after them, but without much probability of overtaking them. On coming up with Te Heuheu, who had stopped to rest on the road, we found that he agreed with us in our suspicion; and the old chief accordingly despatched a special messenger to run on before to warn the English settlers of their return. On our way we fell in with my old acquaintance Ngawaka,

whose sacred ear it had been my misfortune to offend, heavily dragging along his bulky person over the dead sandy beach; and looking as if he would have much preferred a seat in a canoe on the gentle Waipa (from the banks of which he came) to the honour and glory of a campaign in Taranaki. His voluble wife, who had amply retaliated upon my ears the injury done to her husband's, was walking painfully along by his side. To my surprise they both addressed me with smiling faces, and the lady held out her hand to me in token of reconciliation. When I asked the reason of this change of feeling towards me, she said, "Because you have made them go back." So I found that the good scold was a lover of peace after all.

Finding everything quiet at Whanganui after the return of the Taupo chiefs, I took leave of the friendly party of more than 300 natives, whom I had examined and confirmed, and embarked with Major Richmond on board H.M. sloop *Hazard* on 22nd January.

The little settlement of Whanganui has now about 200 inhabitants, but from its unprotected situation, I should fear that it could not be maintained in the event of any general collision with the natives. The church lands of which so much has been said, and which were selected in this district, are still in the possession of the natives, with the exception however of the town allotments; on one of which the Church has been built.

We arrived at Nelson on the 24th January, and found that an express had been sent to Wellington for assistance, in apprehension of an attack from the natives: some of whom had burnt the house of a settler and committed other depredations. The question was found to relate to a disputed boundary line between the native land and that sold to the settlers, and was speedily adjusted by Major Richmond going to the ground and fixing the boundary according to the surveyor's plan which had been agreed upon by all parties.

The chief improvement in Nelson since my last visit was a handsome brick school-house, built as usual, partly by subscription and partly by grant, under the direction of Mr. Reay. Here I had the great pleasure of seeing eighty children assembled, including the scholars of the grammar school who are under the instruction of Rev. H. Butt, and

whom I examined, and was well pleased with their progress. Nelson is the only place at which I have been able as yet to carry out the plan of education which will, I hope, in time be generally adopted: viz. the placing the whole education of the young under the charge of a deacon, with proper assistants under him for the mechanical routine of the schools. The religious instruction will be entirely in his hands. The subordinate departments will, I hope, be generally filled by candidates for deacon's orders, so that there will be, if possible, no distinct order of schoolmasters, and no one will have to look forward to continuing beyond a certain time in the more irksome duties of the school. The scriptural knowledge of the boys in the Nelson school gave me good hopes that this system may be the means of correcting that want of feeling and irreverence which is complained of in English national schools, and which seems to arise from the manner in which religious instruction is confounded with the most ordinary branches of school education. The points required to be attended to seem to be, feeling in the teacher, reverence in the tone in which the instruction is given, and separation of that from all the other studies of the school. This can scarcely be accomplished in any other way than by making the clergyman, not the mere occasional visitor and examiner, but the actual teacher of religion. . . . .

The *Hazard* being required to return immediately to Auckland to carry to the governor despatches which arrived by the *Slains Castle*, I bade farewell to my friends, Rev. Messrs. Reay and Butt, and sailed for Wellington, where I arrived on the 29th January. A large wooden chapel had been completed since my last visit, and was now in use. Here also, as at every settlement which I have visited, there were rumours of wars with the natives, arising out of the anarchy which I have described. The governor a few months ago completed, as he believed, the purchase of the valley of the Heritaonga or Hutt river from the chiefs Te Rauparaha and Rangiaeta, and paid the purchase-money on condition that the land should be vacated at the end of February 1845. Within a month of the expiration of the term assigned for the occupation of the natives, a lawless body of stragglers, recognising the authority of no chief, settled themselves on the land,

defied the authority of Major Richmond, and brought in canoe loads of seed potatoes with the evident intention of retaining possession. The month of March was the time fixed for employing active measures to put the English settlers upon their land, and I determined accordingly to return to Wellington with the view of residing at the mission station at Waikanae, to prevent, if possible, the old chief Te Rauparaha and his people from taking any part in the expected affray. My present voyage is the result of this determination, to which I have been forced by the mortal illness of my dear friend Mr. Hadfield, who is now lying at Wellington (if indeed he be yet alive) "with but a step between him and death." It has pleased God, in this season of peculiar trial, to take from us some of the youngest and best beloved and most influential of our brethren; as if to try our faith in the wisdom and goodness of His providence, and in Christ's assurance that, though we know not now what He doeth, we shall know hereafter. His station is the key to the tranquillity of this district, containing among its population some of the best and some of the worst of the native race. Among the former I may reckon Te Rauparaha's son Thompson and his cousin Martin, two young men of singular steadfastness of purpose. When the gospel was first preached among their people by some natives who had received instruction at the mission stations in the north, they readily received it, and determined to go to the Bay of Islands to ask for an English preacher to be stationed among them. The old chiefs objected to their plan, on the ground of some hereditary feud with the northern tribes, some death as yet unexpiated, which might be visited upon the young men. Failing in obtaining the consent of their relations, they embarked by night on board of a whale ship then anchored at Kapiti, and sailed to the Bay of Islands. About that time an order had been issued by the Church Missionary Society to concentrate the mission in the northern district, in consequence of the wars which still continued in the south, and the application of the young chiefs for some time was unsuccessful. At last the urgency and evident sincerity of their appeal decided Mr. Hadfield to offer himself as their minister; and he went accordingly, accompanied by Mr. H. Williams, to

form the new station at Waikanae, where his presence has since been acknowledged by all to have been the means, under God's blessing, of averting still more fatal consequences of the affray at the Wairau.

To conclude the history of my friends Thomson and Martin. At the request of Mr. Hadfield they undertook a missionary voyage to the Middle Island and Foveaux Straits, voyaging in an open boat more than a thousand miles: sometimes remaining on the sea all night with a compass which had been given them, but the use of which they very imperfectly understood; and returned after an absence of fourteen months, having catechized and preached at every native settlement in the Southern Island and in Foveaux Straits. On my visit to those places last year, I found that the natives uniformly ascribed their conversion to them. Thomson accompanied me on my journey to the south, and I have already remarked upon the pleasing contrast, that while the father was the terror of the settlers of Port Nicholson, the son was engaged with me in evangelizing the heathen. I mention these redeeming characters in the native people, because, though they do not strictly belong to my main subject, viz. their relation to ourselves, yet they may serve to counteract a growing feeling, too much resembling the wish of Nero, that the whole people had but one neck that he might cut it off at a blow.

From Wellington I returned to Auckland in the *Hazard*, encountering off the East Cape a most fearful storm, in which seven of the ship's guns were obliged to be thrown overboard. I am most thankful that my little schooner *Flying Fish* was still on the western coast, having been detained to bring on a mail which had been left behind. It has happened to me, by God's gracious providence, that in the many voyages which I have been obliged to make I have never met with any tempestuous weather except in this case, where we had all the appliances of human skill and strength of material, to withstand the storm. On Sunday, February 9th, I returned thanks on board the *Hazard*, together with the officers and ship's company, on arriving in safety at Auckland. . . . .

During my stay at Auckland, I had a most pleasing proof of the confidence of the natives. My little schooner

Flying Fish arrived from Kapiti, bringing four scholars for the native school, the children of Christian parents at Otaki, one of Mr. Hadfield's stations. The eldest was about twelve years of age. These little lads had sailed from Otaki to Nelson 80 miles, from Nelson to Wellington 140, from Wellington to Auckland 500, in all more than 700 miles, to come to our school; and I learned from them that several more were ready and wishing to come. In the midst of great discouragements and anxieties, these are the signs which comfort and support us.

On the 6th March, the news arrived at Auckland of a collision between the natives and the *Hazard's* pinnace. The flagstaff had been replaced on the hill over Kororareka, and again cut down by John Heke. A new one was placed, and protected by a block-house of thick planks, guarded by a body of twenty soldiers. A second block-house half-way down between the flagstaff and the beach was also erected; and two guns mounted in front of it. A large house on the beach belonging to Mr. Polack was stockaded as a place of refuge for the women and children, in the event of an attack upon the town. Another gun placed on a height above the church, commanded Matavai Bay—a sheltered bay communicating with the town by a hollow valley a few hundred yards in length.

Hostilities began on the 1st or 2nd of March, by an attack of a plundering party upon the house of a settler residing near the Kawakawa. The *Hazard's* pinnace, armed with a gun in the bow, pursued the party and drove them ashore, from whence a fire was opened upon the pinnace by parties concealed in the brushwood. The fire was returned, but without effect, and the pinnace returned to the ship.

For several days after this the natives were evidently gathering their forces round Kororareka, and desultory skirmishing began to take place without loss of life on either side. Lieutenant Phillpotts of the *Hazard*, riding out to reconnoitre with Mr. Parrott, a midshipman of the ship, were surprised by a party of natives, who seized them and flourished their hatchets over their heads, and then allowed them to return. The report which reached Auckland of the first shot having been fired, which we had always looked upon as the beginning of evils, made me

very uneasy for the safety of the northern missions, and finding this feeling increase upon me, on the departure of the government brig with a reinforcement of soldiers, I sailed in the *Flying Fish* on the 8th March, and arrived at the mouth of the Bay of Islands early on the morning of Sunday the 9th. Here I was becalmed the whole day, and occupied myself in morning and evening prayers with my native crew, and with the one Englishman who manages the vessel. In the evening a light breeze sprang up, which carried us in at midnight to the anchorage at Kororareka amidst such a solemn stillness that every ripple upon the rocks was distinctly heard. A single light from the watch-tower on the hill alone gave sign of any hostile preparation. On approaching the *Hazard*, however, we found her anchored head and stern with her broadside to the beach, and all the small coasting vessels which usually lie close to the shore moored by themselves off the further end of the town. We had just anchored when one of the lieutenants of the *Hazard* came on board the *Flying Fish*, and informed me that they were in hourly expectation of an attack, that Heke had fixed that day, Monday, March 10th, for assaulting the flagstaff. That day, however, passed away without any alarm; but the natives were understood to have received a considerable accession of force. . . . .

Before daylight on the morning of the 11th, Captain Robertson with the small-arm men of the *Hazard* and some of the marines, went forward to reconnoitre this valley, and met a large body of natives advancing to the attack. A sharp engagement immediately began, in which the natives were repulsed; but a portion of the body which had been lying in ambush near the church cut off Captain Robertson from the main body of his men; and a native coming within a few paces of him fired a shot which shattered his thigh. At this time he was surrounded by the natives, but his men rallied and rescued him, and he was carried off to the ship. The sergeant of marines also fell, with four others. The gun on the height was found to be exposed to a continual fire from the brushwood, and was ordered to be abandoned. The brave seaman, who was ordered to spike it, discharged his duty amidst a constant fire of musketry, and

at last fell dead by the side of his gun. The repulse which the natives sustained at this point was so severe, that no serious attack was made from that quarter during the remainder of the engagement.

A little before sunrise, while I was viewing the movements on shore with my telescope, my native crew called my attention to a party of natives mounting the hill to the flagstaff, and almost before I could direct my glass to the point, they said, "They have gained it." A few musket shots were fired, and a body of soldiers appeared retreating down the ridge leading to the middle block-house, into which they entered and disappeared. A loud voice called out from the height, "They have got possession of the flagstaff." The whole object of the native attack was gained in a moment. I have been informed that the officer in command had drawn off the men to some distance to strengthen the entrenchments; and that the party which we had seen ascending the hill had taken them by surprise, and cut off their retreat to the block-house. They then killed the sentinels, and rushing into the house, killed a poor little half-caste girl who had hidden herself under some blankets, no doubt supposing her to be one of the soldiers. The keeper of the signals was severely wounded, and his wife and daughter taken prisoners and conducted to Heke, who sent them down with a flag of truce to our nearest post; the party of natives who conducted them remaining within gun-shot of the fort, till they saw the woman and child safely lodged under shelter. At this time there seemed to be a disposition to treat, and a young man acquainted with the native language was sent up to hold communication with Heke, but he returned without accomplishing anything; but a white flag still continued flying on the summit of the hill near the flagstaff. . . . .

The order was then issued for all the force to retreat on board the *Hazard*, which was done without molestation from the enemy. About the same time the *Matilda*, whale ship, sailed into the harbour. Her commander, Captain Bliss, most promptly and humanely offered every assistance to the settlers, and received on board as many as could be accommodated. All the other vessels received their share. The complement of the *Flying Fish* amounted

to four mothers and ten children. One gallant lad[1] of fourteen, to whom I offered an asylum with his mother and sisters, answered me, "Thank you, sir, but I should like to stay with my father." I could only say, "God bless you, my boy, I can say nothing against it;" and away he went to rejoin his father in the hottest part of the fire. Happily he escaped unhurt, and is now at St. John's College. The *Flying Fish* with her infant freight then shifted her station, and came to an anchor off the mission settlement of Paihia.

The firing having now ceased, Mr. Williams and I went on shore to recover and bury the bodies of the dead, fearing, lest the barbarous custom, now almost extinct, should have been revived by that portion of the native force, which was still in an unconverted and heathen state. We found the town in the possession of the natives, who were busily engaged in plundering the houses. Their behaviour to us and to Mr. Philip King of Tepuna, who accompanied us, was perfectly civil and inoffensive. Several immediately guided us to the spots where the bodies were lying, where we found them with their clothes and accoutrements untouched, no indignity of any kind having been attempted. The corpses of those who fell near the church were laid as we found them, in the burial-ground at Kororareka, together with the burnt remains which we found in the ruins of the stockaded house. I buried six in one grave, just as the sun went down upon this day of sorrow. Mr. Williams collected five bodies on the flagstaff hill, including the corpse of the half-caste girl, which he carried in his boat to the *Hazard*, where another was added to the number during the night, by the death of one of those who were burned by the explosion. . . . .

The state of the town after the withdrawal of the troops was very characteristic. The natives carried on their work of plunder with perfect composure, neither quarrelling among themselves nor resenting any attempt on the part of the English to recover portions of their property. Several of the people of the town landed in the midst of them, and were allowed to carry off such things as were not particularly desired by the spoilers. With sorrow I observed that many of the natives were wheeling off casks

[1] Nelson Hector, now Captain of the P. & O. S.S. *Siam*.

of spirits; but they listened patiently to my remonstrances, and in one instance they allowed me to turn the cock and let the liquor run out upon the ground. Another assured me that he would drink very little of it. On ascending the hill to the flagstaff, we found the staff lying upon the ground, having been chopped through near the bottom. A few musket shots had buried themselves in the walls of the block-house, but the building was otherwise uninjured. A large body of natives were resting in the valley below, and other large parties were filing off along the paths over the hills. Altogether there must have been about 500 men on the ground. As far as I have been able to ascertain, they lost about thirty-four men killed: the number of the wounded I could not learn. By request of the post-master, I went to his house to ascertain whether he could safely go on shore to recover his papers. The house was being plundered, but when I asked the natives in possession to spare the written papers, one immediately answered, "I will save them." The private despatches of the police magistrate were brought off by Mr. Williams. When we left the beach a little after sunset, many of the inhabitants were engaged in removing their property; and some of our countrymen, I fear, were taking part with the plunderers. .

On Wednesday morning, March 12th, I crossed to Paihia, and interred the bodies of six of the slain in the burial-ground at that place; Archdeacon Brown and Rev. Mr. Dudley attending me at the service. In the afternoon I procured a horse, and rode to the Waimate. On the way one of those circumstances occurred which mark more than words can express the confidence with which the old settlers live among the natives of the country. I had gone about half-way to the Waimate when I met a settler from Hokianga riding quietly down to the bay, with one native on horseback behind him, to learn the particulars of the engagement. He had come thirty miles through the country from which Heke's forces were drawn, and was going to the scene of action; and I afterwards met him returning by the same route, without the slightest apprehension of danger. The truth is, that there is something in the native character which disarms personal fears in those who live among them, and are acquainted with their manners. All suspicion of treachery seems to be at

variance with the openness and publicity of all their proceedings. Heke published beforehand his determination to attack Kororareka, the day on which it was to be done, and even the particulars of his plan for the assault.

As I reached the Waimate, the sky was lighted up with a lurid glare, which was soon discovered to be caused by the flames arising from the town of Kororareka. From a hill near the Waimate, the whole outline of the town could be seen lighted up by the blaze of the burning houses. My approach to the station was greeted by a large body of Christian natives, with a louder and heartier shout of welcome (Haere mai !) than I had ever heard before. They invited me to a general meeting, at which all the principal persons expressed their determination to defend the missionaries and their families to the last, and begged me earnestly not to think of removing them. Their feeling was responded to by Mr. and Mrs. Burrows, and Mr. and Mrs. Davis, the missionaries of the station, who had resolved to stand firm in the assurance that the same Power which had guarded the mission through thirty years of trial and anxiety would defend it to the end. The native school, which I left with only thirty children, had thriven in the midst of the troubled times, and had risen to seventy. No sooner was it heard that I was in the house, than a stream of little children flowed down from the bedrooms in the upper story, their black eyes and white teeth sparkling in the candlelight as they crowded about me with smiling faces to shake me by the hand. As some of the Christian natives remarked, "Though the heavens were black around us, this was the bright spot of blue sky, which gave hopes that the storm would soon pass away."

At two in the morning of Thursday, 13th March, I left the Waimate to be in time for the tide at a creek on the way to Paihia. A short time before sunrise, I reached the summit of the last hill which overlooks the entrance of the Bay of Islands, and the town and anchorage of Kororareka. The whole surface of the bay was calm and glassy, reflecting the dark outline of the hills, and the bright straw-coloured light of the eastern sky above them. The *Hazard* and *Matilda* lay motionless in middle channel between Paihia and Kororareka. In the bosom

of the dark hills, the smoke of the town "went up like the smoke of a furnace." All that had been devoted to mammon was gone: but heathen vengeance had spared the patrimony of God. The two chapels and the houses of the clergy remained undestroyed.

A curious circumstance is related, with every evidence of truth. An inhabitant of Kororareka residing near the house of Bishop Pompallier, had concealed a store of specie in the panels of his house, amounting, it is said, to two thousand pounds. The natives engaged in destroying the town, fearing that if they burned this house the flames would communicate to the bishop's, preferred pulling it down, and in so doing discovered the treasure. A good lesson for the rioters of Bristol. . . . .

Our chief subject of anxiety now is, the effect which this disaster will have upon the other tribes among whom the English settlements are placed. The Waikato race in the neighbourhood of Auckland have hastened to offer to the governor their renewed assurances of friendship and allegiance. We are not so sure of the Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiawa near Wellington, and Mr. Hadfield's mortal illness weakens our position in those parts to an incalculable extent. Weighing these considerations I have felt my post of duty to be for the present at Wellington and Waikanae (Kapiti), and I therefore sailed on the 20th March in the *Victoria* brig, with Mrs. Selwyn and one of my children; and we are now, I thank God, within sight of Cape Palliser, the last headland to be passed before we reach the heads of Port Nicholson.

The progress of the Church was indeed uphill, when in a small colony race was thus arrayed against race: the bishop, while keeping the mission free from the contentions that raged, was obliged to take action: one in so prominent a position, could not be neutral, and his high sense of justice exposed him now to the suspicion of the natives, and now to the animosity of the colonists. The repulse of the white force at the Wairau in 1843 had given confidence to the natives, who saw that the English were no longer invincible; and now in the north, in the oldest settlement in the colony, the power of the British

had been defied. When the insurrection was approaching the climax, the bishop went, as was explained in the letter to Mr. Hawkins, to the scene of warfare, hoping to act as peace-maker, and on his way he wrote to the Rev. E. Coleridge a Sunday letter breathing the spirit of the errand on which he was bent.

EPISCOPAL SCHOONER "FLYING FISH," OFF PAPEKA, BAY OF ISLANDS,
9 P.M. *Sunday, March 9th,* 1845.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

In obedience to your request for frequent communication, I send you a Dominical letter, which, like a Sabbath day's journey, must be short, especially as the day is far spent. But this same feeling, that my day is passed, reminds me often that yours is but just beginning, and therefore I can always spend another with you in thought when my own is at an end. My present position favours such a reduplication, for I am sitting in my little cabin, in the schooner *Flying Fish* of seventeen tons burden; with no other companions than my sailing master, Champion, late boatswain of the Government brig *Victoria,* and my crew of three New Zealanders. As you have taken me to task for omitting to write to you from a similar cabin on board Tuhawaiki's vessel in the Middle Island, I am resolved not to give you another opportunity; but to write to you a *small* letter from every little cabin in which I happen to sail.

In answer to your noble offer of a schooner similar to that given to the Bishop of Newfoundland, I must tell you, that any thing above twenty tons is considered large in our harbours, the greater number of our coasting vessels being about that size; and, if managed by steady men, they perform their voyages with great safety. The *Flying Fish,* in coming from Otaki, where she had been lying useless for two years, performed the quickest passage that has ever been made from Wellington to Auckland. I must give you the history of my little yacht, which is likely from association to hold a high place in my affection. When Mr. Hadfield (now perhaps of blessed memory) was stationed at Kapiti, four years ago, his missionary zeal led him to cross Cook's Straits in open boats, to minister to the inhabitants of the Middle Islands. The Committee, or rather Mr. H. Williams, alarmed at the danger which

Mr. Hadfield was in the habit of incurring, had the *Flying Fish* built for him at the Bay of Islands, and sent her to Kapiti. As soon as she arrived, Mr. H. resolved to attempt a visit to the Middle and Stewart's Islands, which he had long wished to make, but had never been able to obtain the services of the missionary schooner, *Columbine*, for the purpose; as by the system of the C. M. S. the vessel was under the command of the Local Committee in whose district she happened to anchor; but as Mr. Hadfield lived on the other side of the islands, far away from her usual beat, she never came under his authority at all. . . . . The vessel was laid up in the river at Otaki, where she has remained for two years useless; Mr. Reay's residence at Nelson having superseded the necessity of Mr. Hadfield's visits to the Middle Island. She was made over to me as some compensation for the large expenses which I had incurred in repairing the buildings of the Waimate, on faith of an agreement with Mr. Kempthorne, afterwards disallowed by the Home Committee. You will easily understand why I value anything which serves to bring the memory of Mr. Hadfield to my mind, when I tell you that I left him at Wellington smitten with an incurable disease, and scarcely dare to hope that I may see him again in this life. So true a Christian, so influential a Missionary, and so valuable a Friend, like others whom I have lost before, can never be replaced. Their deaths must be in themselves *the* benefits, which they were designed by God to bestow upon this country. This is the history of the little vessel, in which I am now sitting, and associating you with Mr. Hadfield, Mr. Whytehead, Willy Evans, and other dear friends with whom I can now live only in memory, but with whom I would rather live in this way, than enjoy all the fleshpots of Egypt in what is called "society" with most men. My store of distant friends has grown since I came to this country.

It is now 20 minutes past 11, P.M. and you have just gone to the duties of your day; which will be of a different character from those which I have enjoyed. I left my dear wife on the beach at Auckland, at 12 (noon) yesterday, and at 8 this morning I was at Cape Brett: but the usual calm of the Lord's day, which we used to remark on board the *Tomatin*, came on, and instead of arriving as I

expected in time to assist Mr. Dudley at Kororareka, I have held my Church on the deep, in my own little ship, just the length of the ten-oar in our time (45 feet), and with congregations just equalling the number of the services, four in all, Native and English, but unequally divided, three natives to one Englishman, and myself for the fifth. A slight breeze has just brought us within sight of Kororareka ; the chant of the native crew, one which you have often heard in Eton Chapel, and which they have learned from the native boys in our school, has lately ceased ; a cloudless sky overhead connects me with you "by the bands of Orion, and the sweet influence of the Pleiades," now setting over the Waimate : a light breeze fills our sails, without rippling the water ; the wake of the schooner gleams with phosphoric light, and the solemn stillness of the dark heights of Tapeka is unbroken by any noise ; though a camp of armed men is formed on the summit to guard the flagstaff, which has been twice cut down in resentment of the aggression supposed to be intended as the sequel of the treaty of Waitangi. Two vessels of war, the *Hazard*, and an American corvette, are at anchor, near which my little peaceable schooner will shortly drop its anchor.

The position of the bishop during these stirring times was to the uninitiated anomalous, but there was nothing that was not most fully consistent with his office. In the midst of the carnage and passion which raged he he was ever aiming at peace, and exercising his office for the spiritual comfort of the wounded, using his influence to lessen the horrors of the strife. The *Auckland Times* of March 18, 1845, had the following notice of his conduct :—

"His lordship the Bishop of New Zealand was an active witness, and participator in this business; and it is only due to him to record, that it is impossible for the rapture of praise to exceed that with which every tongue loads him. Fearless in the very midst of the contest, Dr. Selwyn sought to allay the heat of blood, and to arrest the fury of the fight ;—he was also seen bearing the wounded from the field ; afterwards unwearied at the bedside of the dying :—much more than this—he was the nurse, and the

surgeon, and the servant of the sick, as well as their spiritual attendant."

In the following week the same newspaper published the subjoined letter from the commanding officer of the *Hazard*, who himself fell some months later in an encounter with the natives, which shows the impression which the bishop had made on the ship's company :—

To the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of New Zealand.

H.M.S. "Hazard," Auckland,
March 19*th*, 1845.

My Lord,

Nothing but the number of official reports that I have been compelled to write has delayed me in addressing your Lordship to express my personal feelings of gratitude, and also the thanks of the officers and ship's company of the *Hazard*, for your kindness and attention, not only to the sick and wounded, but also, generally, to all the unfortunate sufferers in the late melancholy encounter at the Bay of Islands.

Although I feel that it would be impertinent in me to thank you for the Christian feeling which you evinced on that, as you do upon every, occasion, I cannot help assuring your Lordship that there is not a single man on board who does not appreciate your conduct. Both officers and men are unanimous in the expression of their feelings towards you. Go where you will, you will carry with you the good wishes of all who saw you under the late trying circumstances.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
George Phillpotts,
Lieut. in Command, &c. &c.

In this time of great emergency, when it was feared that the news of the native successes in the north would lead to a general uprising, especially in the Middle Island and around the scene of the first native victory, the bishop went to the endangered locality, where his presence was all the more necessary, inasmuch as Mr. Hadfield, whose influence had prevented bloodshed in 1843, was now no longer

available. Three letters written about this time tell the story dispassionately: it will be seen that the bishop claims for Christianity the credit of inducing the natives to carry on the struggle with due regard to the amenities of civilized nations.

To W. SELWYN, ESQ., Q.C.

H.M. COLONIAL BRIG "VICTORIA,"
CLOUDY BAY, COOK'S STRAITS,
March 28th, 1845.

MY DEAREST FATHER,

We—*i.e.* Sarah, William, and I—left Auckland on the 20th March and reached Wellington on the 26th. We are now on our way to Mr. Hadfield's Mission Station at Waikanae, from the duties of which he has been removed by mortal illness, at a most critical time for the safety of the settlement of Wellington. My object in going to reside there for a few weeks is to watch the effect upon the minds of the natives of this district of the news which they will receive of the defeat of the English forces at Kororareka, and to endeavour to keep all who are religiously minded among them to the quiet discharge of their own duties and the avoidance of political excitement. We cannot yet calculate the effect which the destruction of Kororareka will have upon our position and prospects. At present all ministers of religion seem to be recognised as neutral persons and treated with the usual consideration and respect, though our ministrations are of course less effectual, and our admonitions less heeded, in this troubled state of affairs. I intended to have written you a full account of all that has happened to relieve your mind from any vague anxieties on our account, but our voyage has been so rapid that I have not had time to write more than one full report, which I have sent by this mail to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to explain, as far as I could, the causes of disagreement between the natives and the Government. My hope is, that, by cautious and judicious management, the Church interest in this country may be kept clear of all political dissensions. On one point I think that I may speak decisively, that there is no evidence of any general or indiscriminate hatred of the natives towards the English settlers, or any

disposition to bloodthirsty or savage acts of violence. The proceedings at Kororareka were conducted with all the usages of European warfare. Two officers captured and sent back unhurt; one woman taken and sent back with an escort, and under a flag of truce; the bodies of the slain respected; the inhabitants of the town allowed to land during the plunder and take away such portions of their property as they wished. In the midst of much that was fearful, there was much also that proved the indirect effect of religion and civilization upon the minds of the natives. I may add the following: First, the wounded and the women and children allowed to embark without molestation; then, after the explosion of the fortified house, the whole force suffered to retreat on board the ships without a shot being fired; a single soldier, who was left behind after the abandonment of the town, allowed to be carried off by a boat from the ship; guards placed to protect the houses of the English clergyman and the French bishop; all these indications of character will, I hope, relieve your mind from a portion of the fears which you would naturally feel on our account. There are many signs which give us great hopes for the future; besides the never-failing confidence, that all that is must be for the best. You will, I am sure, remember us in your daily prayers.

I remain,
Your dutiful and affectionate Son,
G. A. New Zealand.

To Miss Selwyn, from Mrs. G. A. Selwyn.

H.M. Colonial Brig "Victoria,"
Cook's Straits,
March 28th, 1845.

That date will a little surprise you, as I am not given to roam, and had no thought of it when I last wrote to you. But much has happened since then which has a little altered the complexion of our lives. George came home, as you know, somewhat unexpectedly in the *Hazard* from Wellington, arriving in Auckland the first week in February. He meant to stay a few weeks, and return to the south for three months to supply Mr. Hadfield's place during a critical period for the natives and the settlers, the former

intending to return to the occupation of some disputed land near Wellington. Near Waikanae reside the two native chiefs, Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, who were at the head of affairs in the Wairau matter, therefore it is the key to the tranquillity of the southern district. Poor Mr. Hadfield is to all appearance lying on his deathbed at Wellington, and it is clearly impossible for any other clergyman to be detached for this service; and now more especially, after what has happened in the north. But you must hear it all, chapter and verse. We had all this time uncomfortable accounts from the north, where things seemed lowering, and the missionaries much out of spirits. George became so anxious on their account that he determined to go up and see them; if he could not strengthen their hands, at least he might comfort their hearts, for the bond of union between him and his clergy grows and strengthens day by day. So he arranged with the Governor that the brig should call on her way to the south for him at the Bay of Islands, and set sail in the *Flying Fish* on Saturday morning, March 8, for Paihia. There, and in the neighbourhood, were five clergymen, including Archdeacon Brown, who had moved down to Paihia with his still afflicted son, who lies now in just the same state. Rota and I watched the little vessel shoot out of the harbour, little thinking to what a scene and to what dangers it was taking its precious freight. . . .

On Friday the 14th the brig returned from the bay; a small coaster the day before had brought terrible tidings, and confused rumours of fighting and burnings were afloat. I did not believe them all, but every one felt anxious, and when I saw the brig disembarking shoals of people, men, women, and children, I felt sure that something more than usual had occurred. Presently came divers people from all parts to tell me of the conflict, and assure me that when the brig left the bishop was safe, also that he was intending to come down again. "The flagstaff is down," "the English have been worsted," and "Kororareka is burnt," were the true part of all the evil tidings which poured in on this black day. It was also said that the captain of the *Hazard* had lost both his legs, and much besides of the horrid kind. I was in full preparation for the Dudley and Williams girls, who were

said to be coming with George in the *Flying Fish.* I watched the harbour till it was dark, and listened to every sound all the evening, till the south wind began to rise, which I knew would keep them out. One of our school servants (Mrs. Steele), who had been staying at the Waimate till we should summon her, came to see me. She had come down with her children in the brig from Kororareka, where she had been with the Dudleys, and so had come in for all the disturbance. Her haggard face frightened me, and really her narrative did not reassure me. I felt quite moved when she described her being with Mrs. Dudley on board the *Hazard* when they heard that the bishop was come, and how they clapped their hands for joy. Poor Mrs. Dudley had been exceedingly anxious about her husband. George arrived in the brig on Sunday, the clergy gathered on board on Monday morning, when he took the Dudleys to Paihia, and spent the day in conference with the party there. Tuesday was the day of the attack. George's letter will of course best describe this, but it will not tell you, as others have all told me, how instrumental he was in saving the lives of the women and children in the stockade. He saw that nothing was being done in this matter, and having first brought off four women and nine children from a private house to the *Flying Fish,* he collected all the boats he could, and brought off those assembled in this place, which was also the powder magazine, and shortly after it blew up, killing and wounding the few stragglers who remained in and near it.

Now you must return to Auckland, and fancy me expecting them all day. Food and clothing were all ready. I rejoiced in the prospect of sharing our large possessions with the needy. The evening tide did not bring them. At one o'clock I pricked up my ears at the sound of footsteps, and not in vain, for presently in came dear George, and you may fancy how glad and thankful I felt to see him safe and sound. I was startled to hear that every man, woman, and child had left Kororareka, and were now in Auckland harbour, an American man-of-war who was in the Bay to watch our British prowess, and a large whaler, being quite full. Poor Captain Robertson of the *Hazard* was dangerously wounded, and George bid

me prepare to receive him next day, but he did not come, as it was thought better for him to remain in his own ship at present. George preached on behalf of the houseless sufferers on the morrow, which was Palm Sunday. On Monday the poor things were to be landed. Twelve children and several papas and mammas came to our house for the day, and out of the stores, with which by the liberality of friends at home we had been so well supplied, I rigged the children out nicely. The next day, having concocted a plan with Mrs. Tilly Ray, and offering to be receiver-general, I received contributions from all Auckland, adding out of our own stores, and arranging them, with Mrs. Dudley's aid, for the distribution the next day.

Then we heard that the brig was going south, and after many pros and cons George settled to take me with him to Waikanae. I felt much pulled both ways, but indeed he has had so much to harass him of late, that I did feel that it was right I should go. The question of where there would be disturbance seemed equal. I left Johnny and nurse at Auckland, for though I might find disturbances I knew I should not find a cow at Waikanae. Well! this will not be amusing to you. Suffice it to say, that we came on board on Thursday evening the 20th, and sailed for Taranaki; my maidens twain are with me, Rota also, who is in a state of ecstasy at going among his own people; George, Willy, and I make up our party. The brig is very full, some going to Hobart Town because they are afraid to stay in New Zealand, and some to Taranaki. Many people have left New Zealand, and many more would if they could. But though it will surely be that the country is unsettled for some time, and possibly many outbreaks may occur which will make it very unpleasant, perhaps more, I cannot say I have yet felt personally afraid. Wait till you are tried, perhaps you will say, and say right too; but unless the future is characterised by what did not appear at the Bay of Islands, savageness, personal violence, and the like, the mere loss of property, though unpleasing in a great degree, need not alarm us or make us run away. However, we are beyond the reach of such thoughts, for, of course, the same reasons which induce other people to

depart ought only to strengthen ours to remain. We may more and more need your prayers, dear people, more and more, then, will you pray for us I am well assured.

The captain was obliged to alter his course on Friday (Good Friday it was) and go south, so that I fear I shall miss that beauteous Taranaki and the Bollands. We have had a most calm and beautiful passage, and anchored in Port Nicholson on the morning of the 26th. I was not disappointed in the beauty of the place, though it rained nearly without ceasing during the day and a half we were there. We spent one evening at Mr. Coles', and the next day in going about a very little, paying a long visit at Mrs. St. Hill's, where Mr. Hadfield is, dining with Dr. and Mrs. Featherstone, and coming on board in the evening. We weighed anchor at four this morning, and have been beating against a foul wind till now, when we are nearly becalmed off Cloudy Bay. I must not omit to say that Mr. Govett is with us. He is reading for orders, and George hopes to ordain him on Trinity Sunday, and leave him at Waikanae. I saw Mr. Hadfield yesterday for a short time. I am afraid he is dying; to our erring judgment his loss seems incalculable, but I looked on the composed and holy expression of his face with awe and envy, thinking how happy was he whose short life had been spent in fulfilling his ministry in so eminent a degree, and in doing such active service. I did not stay long with him, for he was eager to see George, and hear all his tale, and talk of his own beloved flock. He was very glad that we are going among them, and there I really expect to enjoy myself greatly, that is if I have any leisure from the incessant physicking in which my days will surely be passed. I amuse myself with thinking that while you are picturing me in scenes of woe and danger, I shall have been passing my time very tranquilly in making pills and spreading plaisters at Waikanae. But this sort of friendly offices binds the natives to you. The brig is going on to Hobart Town to fetch troops for the defence of Wellington, which I by no means say are not wanted now, but I hope we may be able to do a little at Waikanae towards keeping the peace of the district; George a good deal, for I cannot put my woman's ministrations in the same balance as his.

To Miss Selwyn from Mrs. G. A. Selwyn.

Waikanae, New Zealand,
April 24th, 1845.

I have a short time allowed me in which to write a few lines to Wellington. I do so upon the chance, though not with the hope, of there being a vessel or an opportunity for England, as the recent accounts from New Zealand will have excited some anxiety in your minds, and you will be anxious for further tidings of us. I wrote to you last in the brig, about the end of March, and left my letter with others in the care of the captain, to be sent on to England by way of Hobart Town. We landed at Waikanae, the point of destination, March 29th, since which time, with the exception of a small party of whalers, who came to church at Otaki, we have not seen the face of any English person excepting our own party, and we certainly have felt much more at our ease living entirely among the natives than in the settlements, where people get frightened and frighten themselves by reports of their evil intentions. I do not pretend to judge of the real state of the case or to offer any opinion of the intentions of the Maoris, if they have any, for we do not see the evil-disposed people much. I can only say that all we have had to do with are most friendly and hospitable, and after a week's tour among them, I have returned with no alarming impressions about them. My intercourse with them is of a character so entirely apart from all the formidable ideas people have now the habit of entertaining about them, that I have to rouse myself to think of the fears with which they are in so many cases regarded. Teaching and doctoring are the staple we deal in; more of the latter than the former, and in physicking a community, for it is wholesale work, you cease from overpowering alarms. They are so comical and so willing to take anything you give, and to think it all very good, and that they know nothing and you know everything; this is the point of the matter, if you live among them you find them looking up to you and clinging to you at all points, and so the fear ceases.

But this is of the nature of a prose, so I will tell you that Waikanae is in the sand hills near the shore opposite

to Kapiti; from here towards Wellington nine miles, and towards Manawatu twenty miles, the sands are magnificent, and on the other side, beyond the sand-hills and a little plain of tolerably good land, rises a most pretty range of hills, for the most part wooded. Mr. Hadfield's horses are here. We brought our saddles, and I have greatly enjoyed some rides. How little did I ever think to be galloping with George along the shores of the Pacific Ocean! You cannot think how fine it is, and such a tonic. We went to Otaki a fortnight ago, spent a week there and saw a good deal of Te Rauparaha, the man concerned in the Wairau matter. He was very civil to us, and his son, William Thompson, is one of the best natives I have seen. Thence George took me a little bush expedition up the Manawatu. I longed to go and see with my own eyes how so large a part of his life is spent. There was no walking for I rode to the banks of the river, and then went in a canoe two days' journey to such a beautiful pass between the hills on either side; but I slept four nights in a tent, and the other three in a little raupo hut. Yesterday we returned to Waikanae, and here I shall remain till the brig comes to take me to Auckland, but I hope she will not do so till the 19th May, when George will be ready to return also.

Many more troops have arrived from Sydney, and some are expected from Hobart Town.

Will you let folks know that we are alive and well and living quietly here? By the last news from Auckland all was quiet there also. That is very old news.

But if there were no indiscriminate hatred and bloodthirstiness on the part of the natives, the same could not be said of many of the colonists. On May 19, the bishop embarked on board the *Victoria*, nothing loth to be free from the quarrels that raged on shore, and in the leisure of his voyage he wrote to friends in England a letter which shows that amid the cares and anxieties which surrounded him like the atmosphere, his heart was large enough to care for and to sympathise with the troubles of the Mother Church.

"We are now just outside Barrett's reef, at the mouth of Port Nicholson, almost becalmed, and enjoying that repose of body and mind which is rarely to be found in such perfection on shore. When I came down to write, the sea was covered with aquatic birds brooding on the smooth waters, and seeming to rejoice in the cessation of a cold southerly wind, which has been blowing for several days. If they had ears to hear, as some birds are said to have, and minds to understand, they would be as much rejoiced as we are to be out of the reach of the turmoil of Wellington. Hatred to the natives is now the keynote, not to harmonize with which is to be a traitor to one's country, and unworthy of respect. And yet all disinterested observers see that a friendly understanding with the native people must be the only means whereby, for many years to come, quiet possession of the interior of the country can be obtained. Two days ago I was denounced for having brought Te Rauperaha into the town, and harboured him at the parsonage. You will not be deeply affected by the report of my unpopularity. The real subject of grief is the injury which is done to religion by the un-Christian feelings and language which many permit and justify in themselves. In this perversion of public feeling it becomes necessary to stand firm and let the flood sweep by; as it must be followed by a reaction, at least if there be truth and religion in the world. And if my present unpopularity be unfavourable to my religious influence, I must remember that the minds of those who can entertain such un-Christian feelings cannot at present be susceptible of religious impressions.

"What we shall find at Auckland, I know not; but we shall probably retire as soon as possible from the town (where drilling is the order of the day, the Church loopholed and trenched) to the college ground, to which no alarms have yet found their way, though it would be presumptuous to hope that we shall enjoy a perpetual immunity from the disasters of our fellow-settlers. May God give us grace to sympathize with their troubles, and strength to bear our own.

"On Trinity Sunday, May 18th, I had the happiness of admitting to deacon's orders Mr. Henry Govett, son of the vicar of Staines, to replace so far as he can "my Southern

Whytehead," the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, upon whom it has pleased God to lay His hand, at the very time when the faithless would say it was most expedient he should live. He is still alive; and much wisdom and comfort I have been allowed to draw forth from the ebbing well which will soon be spent, to flow again in fulness with living water at God's appointed time. It has been my lot to lose my best and holiest friends in the midst of the greatest distraction of outward circumstances; so that their deaths have not been to me so personally and inwardly profitable as I felt such intercourse at such a time ought to be. Mr. Whytehead died when all our college and domestic plans were in confusion and discord; and now Mr. Hadfield's room and death-bed are contrasted still more strongly with the fears and evil-speaking of the world without. It needs a mind of more tried and matured temper than mine to adjust itself or to be unaffected by the course of these alternations of moral temperature; but perhaps it may please God to enable these trials to work in me their own remedy, that 'I may give Him thanks for the operation of His hands.' At present the thought will occur, that 'if the righteous be taken away, there must be evil to come.' . . . .

"If any of our unsatisfied members long for more self-denial than the Church affords, why do they not follow the example of Xavier, and try whether true self-denial be not as well practised in a missionary life as in a monastery or a hermitage? I have at command a rill of water, a shady wood, a rocky cave, and roots of fern, for every one of these would-be anchorites who desires to walk in the steps of St. Winifred or St. Dunstan. While they are dissatisfied with the Church of England for lack of self-denial, and yet do not throw themselves into the dark wastes of our manufacturing towns, or upon the millions of the unconverted heathen (where they may practise without observation and without reproof all the austerities which may best express their sense of bearing the daily cross), there must be something akin to the 'sad countenance of the hypocrite' in the lamentations which they utter from their quiet collegiate retreats over the defects of the Church of England as it now is. God forbid that I should impute anything of the kind to Dr. Pusey or

Mr. Newman; but some of their young followers are open to the suspicion.

"My chief feeling with regard to our Anglo-Catholic Church is that as I have never yet attained to the full and beneficial use of her measure of good, I dare not fix my eyes upon any higher standard of devotional excellency, as attainable at least by me. When I look upon the immense dormant powers of our Church, which for secular reasons are inoperative, its Convocation, its Synod of bishops, its Cathedral system, its Diocesan organization, all of which powers are at real work in the Church of Rome, and might be brought into use with us, I cannot doubt that it is our duty to develop all the energies of our own Church before we pronounce upon her insufficiency. My desire is, in this country, so far as God may give me light and strength, to try what the actual system of the Church of England can do, when disencumbered of its earthly load of seats in Parliament, Erastian compromises, corruption of patronage, confusion of orders, synodless bishops, and an unorganized clergy. None of these things are inherent in our system, and therefore are not to be imputed as faults."

One testimony to the bishop's doings at this period yet remains to be quoted, and it comes from another Continent. The Bishop of Quebec at the assembling of his Diocesan Synod in 1878, shortly after the bishop's decease, with a full heart and in glowing words thus gave his own recollections of what he had himself seen thirty-five years ago in New Zealand, and the impressions which had been made on his own mind:—

"During his first year in New Zealand, Bishop Selwyn occupied one of the Church missionary houses at Waimate, in the northern part of the Northern Island. My avocations took me, then little more than a boy, into the neighbourhood. And, as I approached the first cultivated spot I had seen in the country, my ears were greeted with loud yells, and the firing of guns. Heke, the chief who afterwards burnt the town of Kororareka, was, with a hundred and fifty armed men, at that moment, on account of some infraction of native customs by one of the new comers, making an unsuccessful attempt to intimidate the

bishop, who in the calm dignity of undisturbed self-possession gave smiles for his threats, and reason for his passion; until the savage, like a wild beast that had missed its spring, slunk away crestfallen; and the bishop rose proportionately in the native opinion.

"At Waimate, in the common dining-hall, where the whole communion forming the Episcopal household, consisting of the bishop himself in his academic robes, his chaplains, the students in their gowns, a missionary out of health, with all the ladies of the party, and the servants at another table, dined together, I was, with a young man of my own age, my companion, a welcomed guest for a month. And during the two years that followed I fell in with the missionary bishop in different parts of the country, 'in journeyings often.'

"One such appearance lives with especial vividness in my memory. A disturbance had broken out in the neighbourhood of Auckland, then the capital of the province; and, fearing that this would lead to a conflict between the whites and the Maoris, suddenly, with that energy and celerity which made him almost ubiquitous, he appeared upon the scene. We were assembling for morning prayer on the Sunday, when a coasting schooner dropped her anchor in the harbour; and, without waiting for the landing of his baggage, the bishop stepped as it were from the ship to the Church. I can see him now, as he stood by the altar in the plain black gown which was the only robe he had time to procure. I can hear the tones of his voice, as he poured out his fervent expostulation, pleading for justice, and demanding equal rights for all. Every argument, every figure, every illustration of that sermon, except one—they have all passed long ago out of my mind; but the sermon has been one of the most powerful, and abiding influences upon my life.

"Passing swiftly through the outworks of the special occasion, the preacher at once took possession of his hearers' conscience; and from that commanding eminence controlled his audience. And the oft-repeated refrain with which he closed each several demonstration of the censoriousness, and the haughtiness, mixed up so often with our judgment of others, and with our maintenance of our own rights, sank so deep, and imprinted itself so indelibly

in my mind, that I have never since been able to condemn the conduct of any man without hearing in the still small voice of conscience those words, 'And Nathan said to David, Thou art the man;' nor often without a clear picture of that Church in New Zealand on that bright Sunday morning rising before my mind's eye, and the ambassador of Christ standing there, clothed with all the authority and power of his mission, and speaking in his Master's name the message home to my soul.

"I have been led on to recount these recollections by personal feeling—a feeling indeed which I have made no effort to check, because I thought that, though more interesting to me, they would not be uninteresting to you; for in truth he of whom I have been speaking belongs to us all. All felt, when the tidings of his death came, that a prince and a great man had fallen in Israel. His memory is our common inheritance. God grant that some portion of his spirit may rest upon us; and that in largeness of heart, in forgetfulness of self, in devotedness of life, we may be imitators of him, as he of Christ."

In the midst of these distractions and anxieties, his own countrymen possessed by bitter hostility towards him, and the natives threatening at any time to apostatize from Christianity and to break out into open war, it is easy to understand how the bishop longed for reinforcements, and especially for the refreshment of one mind in harmony with his own. Naturally he wistfully looked to the fulfilment of the promise which Mr. Abraham had given that he would join him, but he would not hurry his departure from England until he could leave without injustice to other claims, neither would he receive him at any time under the delusions of a rose-coloured expectation, and therefore he wrote the following letter:—

H.M. COLONIAL BRIG "VICTORIA," AT SEA,
OFF THE THREE KINGS, NORTH CAPE, NEW ZEALAND,
November 6th, 1845.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

Being now at the first point from which I first saw the shore of New Zealand on the 20th May, 1842, with hopes

brighter, it is true, than I can now indulge in, yet not so full of real practical love of the country as those with which I now regard it, I cannot choose a more fitting place for beginning a letter to thank you for your cheering and *stedfast* letters of January 11 and May 6, 1845, which, received shortly before my annual journey, have sent me again on my way rejoicing. When I tell you how I long for the time when you will look (God willing) from ship-board upon these northern pillars of my diocese, before you turn southward to gladden our hearts by your arrival at Auckland, I would not have you suppose that I wish to cut short one day, which you have dedicated to other duties, but I must assure you again and again, and more earnestly as the time draws near, that the day of your coming is the bright spot in the prospect of my future life, upon which my mind's eye fixes itself with increasing pleasure, as troubles thicken around me, and friend after friend is taken away.

Your letter of January last has relieved my mind of a fear which I sometimes felt, lest you should think too highly of our state, and be disappointed. Your words are, "I can picture to myself a hard common-place life." My dear friend, keep to that idea. I should be deceiving you if I were to lead you to think, that we have achieved any of those great realities which are so bright and prominent in the true Bride of Christ; I am but a *νεώκορος*, with some zeal, I hope, for God's house; but still only such as to enable me to do something to sweep the outer court, and even that work sometimes perturbs and distracts me so much, that I doubt whether I shall ever enter into the Holy of Holies, after the first crowd of secular incumbrances is removed. To feel the presence of the living God upon His own mercy-seat; to see the true shewbread upon the eternal altar; to enter into the Holiest of all with the blood of the atonement, is more than I can presume to say that I have attained, and almost more than I can dare to hope for. And because I feel that this inward life and power of holiness is still so faint, I fear to delude you by a false light, burning only at the outer gate, and to tempt you to unite yourself with our unformed and infant Church in the hope of spiritual aid, which neither she nor I are able to impart. Let me warn you, that we are still rather

in a negative than in a positive state, rather avoiding what is evil, than attaining to that which is good. A very little negation of evil unhappily may pass for positive good, where corruptions of long standing in our Mother Church lower men's standard of judgment, and make them praise and wonder at mere "reasonable service." My main hope is (and this is all that I can dare to hold out to you), that in our unincumbered and uncompromising Church we may breathe a freer air; and have more singleness of heart, and therefore more inward light, to seek for the things "which belong unto our peace." But do not come to us as if we had attained anything, but pray that we may be enabled, from our present state of fightings without and fears within, from this turmoil of much serving, which has more in it of Martha than of Mary, more of practice than of devotion, to press forward together to the higher crown, to the better part, to the state of rest and contemplation, first at the feet and then in the bosom of Christ.

I have already expressed my feelings to Coleridge on this subject, in a letter in which I likened myself to a Cardinal Deacon in the conclave of Rome. Mine is a Deacon Bishopric, and I am content that it should be so, except so far as it distracts my mind from contemplation of its own state, and of the purer glories of the spiritual Church and the unseen world. To move my diocese in any perceptible degree, I must multiply my own single force through a multitude of wheels and powers; alone I am powerless. Before me lies an inert mass, which I am utterly unable to heave; and there is no engine ready by which I can supply the defects of my own weakness. Some of the wheels have to be made, some newly fitted to work into others, and when all is ready, an impulse has to be given sufficient to disturb the *vis inertiæ* of the complicated machine, after which there is hope, that even a smaller force than mine may keep it in motion. In constructing this, I am bewildered by the multitude of details, and sometimes doubt whether I am right in complicating the episcopate with all the machinery of the subordinate ministries; and yet I feel that without that pervading influence, the whole system will be powerless, not being "compacted by that which every joint supplieth, nor "holding to the head." And then if this bewilderment of

minute cares cause me to lay hold less firmly upon the great Head, which is above all, the crowd which hangs upon me loosens my grasp upon the Rock, and all fall together. This is what I am bound most solemnly to warn you, not to look to me for strength to bear you up, but rather to come to me prepared to be an Aaron to stay up my feeble hands when the very causes which most require earnestness in prayer make me more unable to pray as I ought. These are not idle cautions, but the real feelings of my heart, known only to my dear wife, and now disclosed to yourself, lest I should deceive you into trusting to me for support and counsel, who need the like reinforcement from you.

I am now on my way to another Visitation, in the course of which I have just visited the Waimate, and found it in a state even more mournful than when I first saw it. Then it only showed the first symptoms of decay; now almost everything, except the church and our own house, was in utter disorder; every window broken, all the rooms filled with the filth of the soldiers, the fences destroyed: but what I missed most was the cheerful faces and bright dark eyes of the seventy little native children, who greeted me with a hearty welcome on the day after the battle of Kororareka. This unhappy place seems doomed to have all its hopes of good blighted as fast as they spring up.

Believe me, yours ever affectionately,

G. A. New Zealand.

The year 1846 was a year of hard and peaceful work, although the colony was not free from wars and rumours of wars: the waters of strife which had for so long raged were not likely to be calmed in a few months; indeed the elements of past collisions were still at work and threatening to lead at any time to fresh outbreaks; but the bishop took no active part in the colonial feuds. The work of transplanting the college from Waimate to a site five miles from Auckland, rendered necessary by the refusal of the Church Missionary Society to grant a lease of the ground and buildings, was happily accomplished, and the gifts of friends in England had provided the bishop with "solid stone buildings with noble sea views:" here a "happy

party of fifty of all ranks, bishop, archdeacon, priests, students and boys," was housed in comfort. A hospital, native schools, servants' houses, and a temporary chapel, followed in due course and absorbed the munificent gift, which had been sent from the Mother Church. The disaster at Kororareka had driven fifteen boys to the college, whose ever-open doors welcomed them as students. Fencing and cultivating the college estate, added to the cost of removal, had "well nigh drained the church account," but, wrote the bishop, with that humour which rarely forsook him, "when our swamps are in the same condition, we shall have 'bread enough and to spare.'"

What were the hopes and plans of the bishop with regard to the college, and with how great patience he awaited their development, are revealed in a playful letter written about this time, during the leisure of a voyage, to a friend in England:—

H.M.S. "HAZARD," AT SEA OFF KAPITI.

Having introduced you to the greater part of New Zealand in my continuous journals to my family and other friends, I have now determined to confine myself for the future to select morsels of information, lest you should have too much of New Zealand, and wish us again submerged, as we were before the God Maui fixed his fishhook upon the mountain Ruapehu, and dragged up my diocese from the bottom of the sea, an exploit which you, as an experienced angler, will know how to appreciate. My See may therefore be considered to be established *sub signo piscatoris*. This letter was intended to have been written at Taupo, the central point of my Northern Island, and to have come to you, like the Pythoness,

μεσόμφαλον γᾶς λιποῦσα γύαλον,

in which case it would probably have been as unintelligible as her predictions, as I had scarcely spoken a word of English for a fortnight,

"Et quod tentabam dicere 'Maori' fuit."

Since that time I have had some intercourse with my countrymen, and have resumed the use of my own language.

. . . . . .

The old chief Te Pairata received me very hospitably, and told me that he altogether disapproved of the war expedition; that he was desirous of living as a Christian, and giving up the practices of the unbelievers. He has several sons, one of whom I selected for the central school. My dear friend, can you conceive a more interesting employment than hunting in this wild country for hopeful plants to stock my nursery at Auckland. One of my main employments during this journey has been to collect the children of the native settlements, and examine them; and where I found any one who especially pleased me, to invite his father to bring him up to my school. In no case have I met with a refusal. So completely has the old objection vanished, with which I was always met when I proposed the system of boarding schools, that the natives could not be induced to part with their children. I have now seventeen from the Waimate, three from Taupo, three or four from Kapiti, and I have no doubt that I can have as many as we can afford to maintain collected from all parts of the island. My Eton experience I hope will be of use to me in this search, for nothing used to interest me more than to form opinions of the character of boys from their physiognomy, and then watch their progress through the school, and at the university. I think that I have heard you say, as a dahlia fancier, that Brown, of Slough, is in the habit of growing thousands of seedlings in the hope of raising one rare and valuable flower; and so I feel that we must gather all the seedlings of our native people, and train them carefully, in the hope of rearing some few who may hereafter be admitted to the ministry. That they have intellectual powers of a high order I have no doubt; what they want is an entire correction of habits.

Connected with the whole group of collegiate institutions there were now not fewer than 130 persons, English and Maori; all alike, according to age and ability, laboured at the cultivation of the college estate, and no task was considered menial. Here was the practical carrying out, with very scanty material resources, the entire scheme which the bishop had often sketched and insisted on as the true ideal of collegiate life which should be aimed

at by ancient foundations at home. He hoped to have seven deacons, who should have "Sunday duties in chapels in the surrounding district, which will soon be οἰκουμένη κατὰ κώμας sufficiently to keep them all in employment," and the whole scheme he thought could be accomplished 'by prudence and industry.'

Two-thirds of all produce of land and increase of stock on the estate of S. John's College were appropriated in equal proportions to the several institutions—to the Hospital, to the Visitor for Household and Hospitality, to the Teaching Staff, the Lay Associates, the Native Adult School, the Foundation Scholars at the English School, the Native Boys' School, the Native Girls' School, the Half-caste School, and the English Primary School. The whole organization was started from the first, necessarily to a large extent in outline, waiting for means and time to fill up the deficiencies; but this was done advisedly, the bishop being guided by the analogy of regiments of Militia, whose staff was kept at head-quarters ready at all times for service, even when the regiment was disembodied.

The Hospital, as it was the most ambitious, so probably it was, next to the Theological College, the most useful of all the institutions thus grouped together at Auckland, and the provision which was made for its management shows how far the bishop was in advance of his contemporaries. The Crimean War had not then revealed the latent talent of Miss Nightingale, and raised the vocation of a nurse to the level of a Christian ministry and of a high accomplishment. There were few hospitals in England that were not content with the services of hireling nurses when Bishop Selwyn appealed to a higher motive than wages, and having organized a Brotherhood and Sisterhood of St. John's Hospital, framed the following Rules for the Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. John.

"1. The object of this Association is to provide for the religious instruction, medical care, and general superintendence of the Patients in the Hospital, without the

expenses usually incurred in the salaries of Chaplains, Surgeons, Nurses, and other attendants.

"2. The general principles upon which this Community is founded are contained in the following passages of Scripture, or may be deduced from them :—

"Matt. xxv. 40—'Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto ME.'

"Matt. xxii. 39—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

"Luke x. 37—'Go, and do thou likewise.'

"John xiii. 14—'If I then, your LORD and MASTER have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet.'

"Matt. v. 46—'If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?'

"Galatians v. 6—'FAITH, which worketh by LOVE.'

"James ii. 17—'Faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone.'

"1 John iii. 18—'Let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth.'

"Luke xvii. 10—'When ye shall have done all these things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do.'

"3. The Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. John are a Community who desire to be enabled, by Divine Grace, to carry the above Scriptural principles into effect; and who pledge themselves to minister, so far as their health will allow them, to all the wants of the sick of all classes, without respect of persons or reservation of service, in the hope of excluding all hireling assistance from a work which ought, if possible, to be entirely a labour of love.

"4. The Brethren and Sisters of St. John are prohibited from receiving payment for any services performed in the Hospital, but will be entitled to expect for themselves and their families, in cases of sickness, the active sympathy and aid of the other members of the Community, and the free use of such medical advice, and other comforts, as the College can supply.

"5. Candidates for admission into the Community must be presented to the Bishop, and in his presence pledge themselves to follow out (so far as their health and strength will allow them) the course of duties which may be assigned to them.

"6. The duties of the Community are arranged according to day and night courses, to secure, as far as possible, the constant presence of one superintendent of each sex, to administer food and medicine at the hours which may be appointed by the House Surgeon.

"7. Those members who reside at a distance from the College will be exempt from the duty of personal attendance, and will be considered to discharge their duties sufficiently by regular contributions of meat, poultry, eggs, milk, butter, and other necessaries, or by assistance in needlework, washing, and the like.

"8. A tithe of the share of produce and increase, accruing to the College, will be regularly set apart for the maintenance of the Hospital; and the greater part, if not the whole, of the proceeds of the weekly Offertory at St. Thomas's Church. But, as these sources of supply are not likely to be sufficient, the contributions of all friends and neighbours will be most thankfully received, and especially the stated supplies of those who have been enrolled as Brethren of St. John.

"9. It is a fundamental principle that all Patients, of whatever race, station, or religious persuasion, shall receive the same kind and brotherly treatment, without distinction of persons.

"10. The usual regulations will be enforced against the admission of Patients afflicted with contagious or infectious disorders; the present Hospital not being on a sufficient scale to admit of separate classification."

As has been already stated, this year was one of quiet and hard work in and around Auckland. Amid all the discouragement caused by disturbances in the south, the bishop had the comfort of knowing that Mr. Hadfield, whose life had been prolonged, as it were, by a miracle, was again able to make his influence to be felt in the interests of peace.

The instances which every day revealed of the good services of the missionaries in keeping up a loyal feeling among the native allies were valued as highly by the commanding officers as by the bishop, although probably on different grounds. The bishop saw the necessity of sending more clergymen into the districts in which disaffection was threatened, but just as his need was greatest, his supplies failed: two trusted missionaries were invalided: others who had been promised from England "passed away into other employments," and nothing was left but to look to his own students, whose education was of course a work of time. While thus unable to provide for the outlying stations the bishop as usual did "what he could."

The Syndicate met at Auckland and finally revised a new version of the Liturgy before sending it to England to be printed.

The month of October found the bishop again at sea, spending the comparative leisure of the *Flying Fish* in letter-writing to the great advantage of these pages.

To the Countess of Powis.

Schooner "Flying Fish," at Sea,
October 1*st*, 1846.

My dear Lady Powis,

This being the first year that I have felt myself settled at home, I have begun to look over all my arrears of gratitude for letters and other proofs of kindness received from my kind friends in England during nearly five years. You may think that this is an odd beginning to a letter dated from the sea, but the *Flying Fish* forms a part of my idea of home, being the little vessel of seventeen tons burden in which I make periodical cruises round my home district, including a half circle of about fifty miles radius. At present I am on my way to the Thames River, fifty miles from Auckland, to see one of our missionaries, who is said to have returned in very bad health from a journey into the interior, and for the double purpose of bringing him to Auckland if necessary, and of taking the Chief Justice and Mrs. Martin across the water on an excursion to the Lakes. With such pleasant companions, and perfectly still water, with the prospect of a long day of calm

before me, I naturally feel disposed to multiply the enjoyments of my present position, by adding to the charms of New Zealand air and scenery the recollection of scenes and persons most dear to me in England. It is, perhaps, singular that every increase of happiness in this country seems to make me cherish more warmly than ever the recollection of home friendship, and yet without suggesting a single wish to return. Both Mrs. Selwyn and I look forward to nothing with greater satisfaction than to be allowed to remain here with some measure of health and strength to the end of our lives. But this is no hindrance to the growth of a fuller sympathy with those whom we have left, a feeling which seems to gain strength from the very causes which, in other ways, separate us so completely. If you could see the pleasure with which I am arranging on the deck of the schooner all the letters which I have received from you since we reached this country, you would, I think, feel convinced that I have a very grateful sense of your kindness in writing, and be encouraged to persevere. . . .

I am happy to report that the loom, spinning-wheel, knitting-pins, yarns, cards, &c., have arrived safely, though I feared that they had been lost in the *Tyne;* and we are now building a proper place for putting up our machinery. We have in our establishment one Dame Bruce, related, I know not in what degree of affinity, to the hero of Scottish history, belonging to that class of Scotch peasantry who, as she tells me, are in the habit of *making* their own "trousseau" instead of buying it, a practice most desirable for the undowered maidens of New Zealand, who otherwise could only procure their wedding garments by an unsentimental traffic in potatoes and pigs. Two or three of our missionaries also know how to weave, and with their assistance before we left the Waimate we had begun our manufactory by putting together the fragments of an old loom sent out by the Church Missionary Society. This and its apparatus we left at the Mission Station for the use of the native schools, which were continued there till they were broken up by the war. We have now fifty scholars, men, women, and children, in our native college, out of whom we may organize, without much difficulty, a little body of spinners and weavers.

The same voyage allowed leisure for the production of a letter to the late Earl of Powis, on matters of far more widely spread interest than teaching Maoris to spin and to knit. The opinions of our brethren at the antipodes on our doings at home are often very valuable: they see things through a clearer medium than is compatible with the strifes and self-interest which so often hamper decisions and cripple action on the spot. To the late Earl of Powis was granted the high distinction of contending successfully against a threatened suppression of some of our all too few bishoprics at home. The bishop's call to throw ourselves, when the State deserts us, upon the inherent Spiritual Power of the Church herself, is a lesson which English people need to learn, whether the State deserts them or not; and the bishop's letter, written more than thirty years ago, is as full of importance and of instruction for the present generation as for the last.

To the late Earl of Powis.

Schooner "Flying Fish," Off Waihikl
October 2nd, 1846.

My dear Lord Powis,

During the leisure of a short cruise, with light contrary winds, the most favourable time of all for writing letters, I find, as usual, much reason to fear that I have omitted to express my thanks for many acts of kindness received from you. Two letters I think that I have acknowledged—those of June 4, 1843, and August 20, 1844—containing much interesting detail of my pupils. I will not use your word "*late*" pupils if they will consent to be still under my tutelage, in respect of any benefit they may receive from my counsel or my prayers. In this respect we shall ever, I trust, stand to one another in the same relation as before. I have already written on the Welsh Bishoprics' question, on which I have to thank you for your excellent speech and the other papers which accompanied it. When I said in a former letter that I wished I were again at your side to help you in the contest (a species of "gunning" in which I might do more execution than among your lordship's pheasants

and hares) I did not think that after so promising a beginning you would still require so much assistance. If the State deserts you, can we not move the Church, especially as the Bishop of London has given way, and come at least to a neutral position? I ventured, rather presumptuously perhaps, as the youngest suffragan of my metropolitan, and therefore by the custom of courts-martial privileged to speak first, and as the most distant of His Grace's children, and therefore the farthest removed from all personal interest in the matter, to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury such an expression of dissent as I conceive every English bishop ought to have an opportunity of avowing publicly if the Convocation of the Church were duly established. At the same time I wrote to the Bishops of London and Lincoln in the forlorn hope that a voice from the antipodes might have some effect in righting the opinions of some of those Fathers of the Church who have combined with the laity to turn the Church upside down.

The last resource now seems to be to assert the spiritual existence of the sees, their indestructibility by any power of the State; to draw a clear distinction between the temporalities of the bishoprics which the State can handle, whether rightfully or not, and their divine and perpetual character, which is as impalpable to the grosser touch of the civil ruler as the soul of man is exempt from the power of the gaoler who may confine his body, or the hangman who may put an end to its life. Let the State be, if it pleases, the gaoler or the hangman of the body of the Church; let it suspend or alienate its revenues at pleasure, provided always that the soul of the Church, its living principle, its scripless and purseless spirit, its divine origin, its holy and inward energy, be not confounded with such beggarly elements, as seats in the House of Lords, and thousands a year, and parks and palaces, things which statesmen love "to touch, and taste, and handle; but which perish in the using." The want of this distinction caused the destruction of ten bishoprics in Ireland. If the same distinction had not been drawn, the greater part of the canonries would have been destroyed with the confiscation of their revenues, instead of being held as now by preachers of the first eminence in

the diocese, whose periodical cycles of preaching in the Cathedral Church will impart as much life and energy to the central heart, by their experimental eloquence and unbought service, as the canons of the old school deadened and destroyed, by the worn-out prose and heartless dulness of their hireling ministrations.

Even in the peerage this principle is true. Can any one say that the Earldom of Powis or the Dukedom of Northumberland is not a distinct thing from the possession of Walcot or Alnwick? There may be finer houses and larger domains in the possession of a cotton lord or an ironmaster, but the name and hereditary dignity of an ancient house, the yearly increasing sum of old prescriptions and time-honoured recollections, has a distinct and independent existence of its own, secured by its own incorporeal nature, the safest of all entails, from the danger of being squandered by some spendthrift minor, or seized by some unprincipled administration. Much more safe is the hereditary patrimony of the Church; not its revenues, derived perhaps from the fears of some profligate baron on his death-bed; not its seats in the House of Lords, forced upon the bishops at a time when the State, with an illiterate aristocracy, needed them more than they needed the State; these may be taken away as they were given, by the will of man; but the true essence of the Church, which man can neither give nor take away, that patrimony and perpetual inheritance which it possessed, even when its Founder had not where to lay His head, when His disciples had but a few tattered nets and leaky boats, and had left even them, and when they went out without scrip or purse, and yet lacked nothing.

My object in the above remarks is to prepare you to receive a petition from the Colonial bishops of this region, praying that no see may be destroyed, but reserved, *without endowments or worldly honours*, for those who, after spending their strength in struggling under the burden of the Episcopal duties in dioceses as large as all England, may wish to die with the vestments of their order on their backs, instead of returning to that very questionable position at present occupied by a Colonial bishop after his retirement. For myself I can safely say that no sense of imbecility or entire incompetence to the duties of my

present office would be so painful as the thought of returning to England to cease to be practically a bishop. If I cannot continue to walk over my diocese, I would rather crawl over it on all fours than retire into private life, and suffer the functions of my office to be cut short at once by my own act of resignation. If the Church of England has more sees than it requires can it not spare us a resting-place in one of those easy chairs, which may be looked upon as sinecures at home, but which we should value as places of repose for broken constitutions and impaired powers, amidst associations commending themselves to all our holiest sympathies, and with a range of duties which we might still be able to discharge? Why should not the Church of England allow St. Asaph or Gloucester to be the Chelsea or the Greenwich for its Colonial veterans? All that we shall ask for is the preservation of the sees. We neither know nor care anything about the value of seats in the House of Lords, or the necessity of £5,000 a year, points which seemed to be insisted upon in the debates as essential to a bishopric. If so, there were certainly no bishops before the time of Constantine, and so the *apostolicity* of our Church is at an end; and there *are* as certainly no Colonial bishops, and so also its *Catholicity* is lost; and without these two notes what will become of its pretensions to be a true Church?

I am writing what will be held to be treason in some quarters, but I am sure that I love the Church of England, and desire to serve it faithfully till the day of my death; but I cannot bear to see these peerages and revenues stand in the way of its spiritual advancement, like iron crowns to sear and blind its ethereal sight, and beds of steel to rack and cramp and distort its members. Why will not a *liberal* administration, which professes to give boons to all religious bodies without any "conditions to impair the grace or favour of the gift," allow the Church of England to have as many bishoprics as it requires? Nothing so much strikes me at this distance as the inconsistency of the legislation of late years in respect of principle. In England I suppose this is concealed by some expediency which we do not see at this distance. What strikes us is the glaring absurdity of building up new bishoprics by destroying others: a course which reminds me of the walks of St. John's College in

spring, where every rook seemed to be doing nothing but plundering his neighbour's nest.

I remain,
My dear Lord Powis,
Yours very gratefully and sincerely,
G. A. New Zealand.

The same topic formed, with a project for Church Legislation in the Colonies, the subject of an important letter to the Bishop of Sydney which Bishop Broughton said, "ought to be placed in the hands of Bishop Selwyn's biographer."

St. John's College, Bishop's Auckland,
New Zealand, *August 14th*, 1846.

By the last mail I have received an important letter from W. Gladstone, an extract from which I have sent in the inclosed letter to our Tasmanian brother, in case he should be still with you. The subject is one which I hoped to discuss in our Triangular Synod, if we had been permitted to meet. He asks:—

"The principal thing I have to say at the present moment is this: write to me fully all you think and feel concerning the wants of the Church under you. I do not mean as to money, but as to organization; as to good laws, as to the inward means of strength for the performance of her work; as to giving her a substantive aspect in the face of the State and the public, though a friendly one. My own thoughts turn to the question whether our Churches in the colonies do not want something in the nature of an organization beginning from below, from each congregation and its members. Whether it is not now a great problem to consider if any and what more definite functions should be given to the laity in Church affairs. Their representation through the Parliament becomes, it is manifest, daily less and less adequate."

What would I not give for an opportunity of flying over to Sydney and working out a full answer under your advice; but the state of Wellington is quite as much a subject of anxiety to me as the north ever was, and therefore I must hope to receive your communication by letter.

As you mention the Sees of Bangor and St. Asaph, I

am emboldened to submit to you a plan of attack upon the Church Commission similar to one by which the Canonries were saved, though with the loss of their endowments. When it seemed quite clear that the revenues must go, we made a stand for the offices; and the point was carried, I suppose, because the present race of legislators cannot see that the office is in fact everything, and the endowment merely an accident of the office. The bishops are now using the *dis*endowed canonries to bring the best preachers and ablest men into immediate connexion with their cathedral. Now, what I should like to do in aid of Lord Powis is this. The point is despaired of by all. But a Church is never really stronger than when its life is despaired of; as Isaac was never more fully the child of promise than when he lay bound upon the altar. It seems to be the time now to assert the pure spirituality of the office; to claim that as the inalienable property of the Church; to yield to, without acquiescing in, the power of the State to confiscate revenues; but to deny the power of the Legislature to remove from its place a candlestick, which is older than the British Constitution itself. If you agree with me, let us prefer it as a claim, that we have the penniless bishoprics, whether in Ireland or Wales, as places of retirement for ourselves, where we may exercise episcopal functions within a range more suited to our impaired powers of body and advanced age. Let us state boldly, even impudently, "*Oportet me gnaviter esse impudentem*," that we care little for revenues, less still for seats in the House of Lords; but that which we do care for is the holy and spiritual character of our office, which we desire to be allowed to exercise with such powers as God may permit us to retain to our lives' end. How can we discharge our present duties when once the body has lost its energy? and why are we to be obliged to vacate our duties, which no English bishop is allowed to resign, when at least thirteen bishoprics of the Church of Christ are vacant, the duties of which are so limited that unthinking men have looked upon them as sinecures? Let them give us chairs to sit and die in, and cathedral crypts for our burying-place, that we may feel that we have a home within our Mother Church in death, if not in life.

Do think of this, for the Bishop of Lincoln tells me

that when the Corn Laws are gone, he believes that tithes will be given up as a boon to the landed interest. It is time, then, to put forward the imperishable spirituality of the Church in all its offices, as a bright reality, dimmed and tarnished by secular rust, but still the same as when it first received the promise that the gates of hell should not prevail against it.

Whatever we do, I accept and subscribe to your declaration: that is done in the full persuasion, "that there is a Catholic Church, and that its spirit is embodied in our Anglican branch."

While politicians, and even Churchmen, were trying to lessen the number of English sees, the increase of the Episcopate was steadily prosecuted abroad. At this time it was proposed to subdivide the See of Australia; and the following year saw the Sees of Melbourne, Adelaide, and Newcastle established within the original limits of Bishop Broughton's Diocese. This cheered the Bishop of New Zealand, who had already seen the necessity of subdividing his own diocese, small as it was in comparison with Australia. He wrote: "From my heart I rejoice to hear of the subdivision of one at least of these unwieldy dioceses. Some time or other I suppose my turn will come to be relieved; in the meanwhile I am content to go on with such measure of grace and strength as God may allow me, but with an increasing sense of my own inefficiency. I have given up housekeeping at Auckland, and have brought all my income to bear on the College, and therefore I hope our financial prospects may now begin to be brighter. Our land also begins to yield something, upon which must depend, in great measure, the future maintenance of our institutions. However, as I have quite made up my mind to go to the plough myself rather than give them up, you may draw upon my special fund for 100*l.* for Mr. ——'s passage, with no other fear than that of making me an unworthy follower of Cincinnatus."

CHAPTER VII.

[1847.]

WITH wars still breaking out at intervals in the south, and with an epidemic running its course at Auckland, the year 1847, which was destined to be a period of great activity, and to witness the initiation of several important steps, did not begin auspiciously. The hospital, which had been so important a part of the group of collegiate institutions, became the centre of a pestilence. A woman, the wife of a labourer in the neighbourhood, who was extremely ill, but not known to be suffering from any infectious disorder, was admitted by the Bishop with his usual kindness, and the result was that an epidemic ran through the whole college and attacked his own children.

The time had come when the bishop had to contemplate that great trial of married missionary life, the parting from his elder son; and he was anxious, if it might be, that he should go to England under the care of Mr. Hadfield, to whom he wrote, on this and other subjects, the following letter: —

COLLEGE SCHOONER "UNDINE,"
OFF BREAM HEAD, *March 25th*, 1847.

MY DEAR AND VALUED FRIEND,

First I must express my thankfulness for the abatement of your sufferings, which I hear has taken place; and though it is not said to give hopes of ultimate recovery, yet it cheers me with the prospect of another interview

with you, if it should please God to prolong our lives till November. You are said to have now resolved to go to England: if this be the case, may I beg you to let me confide my dear little boy to your care. Mr. Cotton is likely to go at the beginning of spring, in September or October, and Mr. and Mrs. Bambridge, so that you would have store of kind friends and nurses, including our excellent friend Rota Waitoa, who would be charmed with the idea of going with you. Pray let me know your thoughts on this subject, as the time approaches.

The state of the Wellington district has never for a day been absent from my thoughts; but a grievous lack of instruments stands in the way of any improvement in English and native education. I can barely get my own school system into order at the college, by throwing the chief part of my time and attention into that work. The young men do not know how to teach, and the natives find out that they are careless and lukewarm in their work. The result of a year's work in the native schools is far from what I wished, because, unfortunately, some of my coadjutors are so little aware of their own defects that they think that I work in their schools instead of, rather than in addition to them, and so relax their own efforts, already insufficient. There is a grand opening now for founding a college for the southern division, probably at Porirua, but where to find a staff I know not. In a few years I hope to have a supply of young men fairly qualified for such employments, but the crop has not yet ripened . . .

My plan for the next summer, God willing, is to spend a considerable time at Wellington and Otaki, and then to visit Nelson, Akaroa, Otakou, the Chatham Islands, and Foveaux Straits. If the ship in which I hope that you and my little boy will sail together should not sail before that time, I should hope to bring him with me, to enjoy the last of his society, and then to consign him to the great current of human life, not in an ark of bulrushes, but in the ark of Christ's Church, in full trust on the mercy of an ever-watchful Providence.

Meanwhile the child, for whose guardianship the bishop had been preparing, was hovering between life and death with typhus fever running its course. At this anxious time

the bishop left home one Sunday morning for Auckland, with little hope of finding his children alive on his return. The first lesson in the morning service was 1 Kings xvii., and he preached, with that felicitous choice of subjects and of treatment in which he had no rival, on the words "O thou man of God! art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son?" When he came back to the college he found the crisis was over, and that his children had rallied. In the midst of these distractions the bishop was preparing for future plans and voyages, as well as supplying by his own personal efforts the deficiencies in the teaching staff of the college. These circumstances come to light in two letters written about this time.

(i.) To Rev. O. Hadfield.

St. John's College,
April 29th, 1847.

My very dear Friend,

When I last wrote to you about our dear little boy William, I did not think that I should so soon be watching by his bedside, with my mind wavering between hope and fear, and endeavouring to grasp the promises of eternity as a substitute for both. We have been visited by an epidemic fever, similar to that which you may remember carried off William Evans and two other of my fellow-passengers in October, 1842. Hitherto it has been fatal only in one instance; that of a native man, who came to us in a very advanced state of disease, so much so that we could not reject him, as his own friends deserted him because of the loathsomeness of his complaint. But we have had sixteen or seventeen cases altogether, including both our children, the elder of whom is still in a precarious state. I am sure that we shall have your prayers for patience under our sufferings, and a happy issue out of all our afflictions.

In the midst of this untoward state, a number of new boys arrived from the south, &c. Perhaps you will have the kindness to tell Mr. St. Hill, for the satisfaction of the parents, that they will all be stationed a mile from the

college, and that intercourse between the two places will be properly restricted till all our patients are well or removed.

I hope to hold a second meeting of the Diocesan Synod in September, at which the two main subjects of consideration are to be —

The Canons of the former Synod, considered with the aid of all remarks and objections made by any of the clergy who did not attend the former meeting. Perhaps you may feel able to send me your remarks for this purpose.

Secondly, the consideration of a general Church Constitution for the diocese, to be first considered by the clergy in synod, and then presented for consideration to the lay members of the Church; the whole to be finally approved by the Archbishop. The chief points of this subject I hope to embody in a paper of inquiries to be placed in every clergyman's hands before the time of meeting.

On this subject also I request such remarks as you may be able to gather from the surface of your mind, without effort or burden to yourself.

(ii.) To a Friend in England.

St. John's College, New Zealand,
May 3rd, 1847.

I can assure you that since I returned from my last long journey I have been so occupied with the petty details of schools, buildings, students, and scholars, that I have scarcely ever felt clear in mind to undertake anything requiring consecutive thought. Between ourselves, I have undertaken this work of a college with a very inefficient body of coadjutors; and every day some one or other of its numerous branches shows signs of weakness and premature decay, by reason of the neglect or incompetence of the person in charge; and I am so well aware that it would have been better to have attempted nothing, than to allow it to fail, that I am kept in a continual state of uneasiness, unable to be satisfied that any part is in a safe or permanent state. This obliges me to throw my personal attention into the details of every branch of the institution to an extent which would both surprise and amuse you, if you could see how ultra-episcopal my duties

are as the overseer of everybody and everything, and the referee on all subjects, however minute. This state of things will not last for ever, for I must in time bring the young men to a greater feeling of responsibility for their own duties. But the bane of all colonial work is slovenliness; and my own body are deeply infected with it. It is not easy to teach them that what is worth doing is worth doing well. I do not mean to say that I could not have written to you under these circumstances; but I could not have written as freely and heartily as I could wish, because my mind for the time being is a mixture of theology, Latin grammar, Euclid, algebra, geography, medicine, husbandry, gardening, &c., &c., as if an old encyclopædia had fallen in pieces and its leaves flown in Sibylline confusion about my head. Some improvement had been made, when it pleased God to visit us with an epidemic fever, with which more than thirty of our body have been attacked, which has added materially to my anxiety and work.

Amid the burthens of sorrow and anxiety the bishop with his wonted unselfishness wrote to his most helpful friend in England,[1] deprecating a monopoly of his beneficence, and disclaiming any personal regard for himself as a claim for aid in the works to which he was pledged.

St. John's College, New Zealand,
April 27th, 1847.

My very dear Friend,

If you have reason to complain of a dearth of letters from me during the past year, pray remember that I have this year been chiefly on land, and that the well-known effect of salt water in quickening my faculties has therefore been wanting. The sea is my telegraph to you; it was on that element that we exchanged our last loving words of parting; and it is that which keeps up such epistolary intercourse as we now have. No wonder, then, that when I am dancing over the dark blue sea, with neither schools, nor visitors, nor business to interrupt me, I should visit you on the wings of the sea-breeze with a more full and flowing companionship of affection. Your letters also, no doubt from the pressure of the care of all

[1] Rev. E. Coleridge.

the colonial Churches, have been less frequent; but if there were none, I should never doubt the continuance of your love, but feel that in the Catholic expansion of the widest charity, I and every other object of your regard will receive in fact a larger individual share. The more you enlarge your central boiler, and heat it sevenfold, the more shall we, in common with every other part of the system, feel its effects upon our distant wheels. Not that I value private love less, but that I value Catholic love more, because, among other reasons, it is more catching and transferable: it is a mantle which you can bequeath to any one who neither knows nor cares for George Selwyn, but will gladly work in your train in behalf of the Bishop of New Zealand. In the same manner I trust that we shall acknowledge your untiring zeal and affection, if not by such fulness of personal expression as it deserves, yet perhaps more surely and effectually by building up the works which your assistance enables us to found; and burying your image and name, where God alone can read it, deep under the rising walls of a goodly superstructure. It will please you, I am sure, to know that your efforts in our cause are among the strongest of the earthly arguments which continually urge me to persevere.

I write from a place of sorrow and sickness, where our nightly vigils are kept by the sick beds of our dear children and scholars. Fifteen among us are now ill of an epidemic fever, including our dear little boys. William has been and may be still very near to death; but God is merciful, and it may be, He will not visit the sins of the father upon the child. Who knoweth whether God may not be gracious, that the child may live. Our resolution of sending him to England has prepared the heart for any separation, and why not resign him to his heavenly Father as willingly as we resolved to send him to receive his grandfather's blessing. We intended to place him in Mr. Cotton's hands to conduct him to England: may we not trust that he will be safer with Thomas Whytehead in the world of blessed spirits? Still I cling carnally to the hope that you will see him in England, and that my heart will be gladdened in this distant land by hearing *τὸν παῖδα ἀρικύδεον εἶναι.*

In all public matters we are in a state of perfect repose;

and the friendly intercourse which we used to have with the Fitzroys has begun to grow with the present Governor and his wife. We have this advantage among others of our entire separation from the State, that we are almost sure to be friends with the Governor. We are not bound to be always opposing him in Council, and therefore we seldom meet except upon some friendly ground.

Believe me, ever your truly affectionate and grateful friend,

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

This letter, written on land, was quickly followed by another written at sea, to the same correspondent.

COLLEGE SCHOONER "UNDINE,"
MAXWELL'S HARBOUR, ISLAND OF WAIHEKE,
Whit-Monday, 1847.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND PROXEN,

. . . . . .

At this still hour, with no sound but the roaring of the wind above the hills which shelter us, and the rippling of the gentle swell which fritters itself away into the "sinus reductos" of our anchorage, I feel much of that influence which you describe in your letter from St. Leonard's, of the soothing power of the sea in connecting our thoughts with distant friends. Perhaps the noble bay, in which the *Undine* is lying, may claim some superiority in this respect over an English watering-place, for nature is here exempt, at present at least, from all the parade of fashion; and nothing but a native village and a few sawyers' houses interfere with the simple beauty of the place. Here, then, let me pour out my whole heart in thankfulness to my heavenly Father who, while He seemed to send me to the abodes of savage life, and the wildness and loneliness of these thinly-peopled islands, gave me in return the most cheering sense of intercourse, unbroken by time or distance, with many of the best-beloved and most faithful of friends. The winds which sweep so rapidly over my head would convict me of ingratitude, if my thoughts, which are quicker even than the storm, did not fly away to be at peace with God and with you.

My companions (now asleep) are Mr. Bambridge, who avails himself of a cruise for a change of scene and air,

and that dear boy, Nelson Hector,[1] whom I have mentioned in my Kororareka letter, and whom Sarah and I look upon as our adopted son.

In the leisure of the same voyage another letter, giving a graphic account of an episcopate of smallest matters was written to the late Rev. Charles Marriott; he had been among the friends who followed the Bishop to Plymouth when he sailed, and had said at the time that "nothing but a firm conviction that he was where God had placed him would enable him to resist the temptation of throwing in his lot with the bishop and his companions."

College Schooner "Undine,"
Off Waiheke, *June 7th*, 1847.

My dear Friend,

I believe it is the tendency of all correspondence to grow slack, in spite of every good intention and even effort to the contrary. For my own part I seem to be always writing, and yet I am always in arrear. But you will have the goodness to remember that a year in college in New Zealand is very different from a year at Oriel, where your whole routine of system and all your collegiate arrangements have been settled for some generations back; and where your venerable buildings prove that the present body have had very little trouble in constructing them. With us it is very different. Everything in the way of system, from the cleaning of a knife upwards, passes in some form or other through my mind; and in the progress of our buildings I am practically conversant with every detail, and almost know by sight the stones and timbers which are to be used. In anticipation of this state of things I appointed you, with your consent, to be my deputy-thinker: the tenure of which office seems to imply that you will write more letters to me than you will receive from me, unless indeed you should be so greedy of payment as to take letters without thought, expressed out of the dry residuum of my brains, in satisfaction for your own thoughtful and valuable suggestions. The night before last I read over the whole of your letters in the quiet of my cabin till past midnight; a practice which I have

[1] See page 182.

lately adopted during my short circuit voyages with the letters of my most valued correspondents, in order that I may gather the full amount of the gratitude which I owe them, and be somewhat filled with their spirit before I begin to write to them.

To yourself I feel that I owe the greatest of all benefits, a mind continually engaged in thought and in prayer with special reference to us; and though we are unable, from the multiplicity of petty cares, to profit fully by your meditations in carrying out the plans which you suggest, yet the other benefit of prayer is one of which we cannot be deprived. It is a comfort to a working college, like ours, to know that there are some cells in the English universities which have not yet been invaded by the demon of whist or science, but still maintain their primitive character of self-denial, retirement, and prayer.

When I spoke of science, I did not mean to exclude from my thanks the astronomical magic lantern and microscope which you sent for the use of our schools, and which have been exhibited to their great satisfaction. I meant that false science, which was the bane of Cambridge when second-rate men spent all their time in hearing or telling some new discovery; while the true knowledge of the real interests of mankind were so little regarded that men like Whytehead, even with a strong feeling of the duty of residing in college, were forced from it by lack of sympathy with the pursuits and habits of the body. . . . .

Your suggestions on Penitential Discipline came at a time when the subject was much upon my thoughts. The number of young men of good family and education who have been thrown away in this country is quite frightful. They are sent out by their fathers to settle, because they showed no disposition to settle at home; as if a mind could be formed amidst savage life and the unformed elements of society, which had refused to submit itself to the established customs of a civilized country, and the ordinances of the Church in which it has been brought up from infancy. The end is, that these young men are found in the lowest state of life; in personal appearance fit to be studies for a painter in a picture of the prodigal son; and so lost in mind as scarcely to have the will, much less the energy, to reform. One of them is now at the little

village formerly occupied by the college, about a mile from the present building. He has opened his heart very freely to me, and disclosed the despair which was driving him on to self-murder. He is lawfully married to a Maori woman, with whom he had cohabited; and his earnest desire now is, that they may both be received to the Holy Communion, as a bond of union one with another, and as the stay of his soul against the terrors which encompassed him by day and night. The little rush house, which I have lent him, he speaks of as an asylum from the temptations and restlessness of the town. The simple and gentle manners of his Maori wife add much to the interest which I feel in his case. She seems so much attached to him, and devoted to her children, in the midst of their troubles.

I fear that this letter will not be much inducement to you to continue your benefactions, unless you are one of the few who grow more benevolent upon insufficient returns of gratitude, in remembrance of Him who gave most and received nothing in return."

This seems to have been a time prolific of letters. Among the English news was the grateful intelligence that the attack on the Welsh Sees had failed; and the Bishop sent cordial congratulations to his old friend and patron, with whose efforts he had so thoroughly sympathised.

To the Countess of Powis.

St. John's College, New Zealand,
April 30th, 1847.

My dear Lady Powis,

. . . We have heard by the last mail that Lord Powis has at last succeeded in saving the Welsh sees: on which my heart most thankfully acknowledges the mercy of God in raising up from amongst the laity defenders of the ancient bishoprics, which some of my own order would have destroyed. The effect of Lord Powis's endeavours seems to have gone far beyond the point immediately contended for, and to have drawn forth even from Whig statesmen an acknowledgment that more bishoprics are necessary in the present state of the country with its

multiplied population. These signs of improvement are most cheering to me in my most remote corner of the world; and encourage me to pace over a few more thousand miles of wood and mountain and swamp, in the hope that when I am old and crippled, the tide of opinion will have risen high enough in England to convince all reasonable men that our colonial dioceses are as absurd in theory as they are contrary to the practice of the primitive Church. I shall not be satisfied until all my present archdeaconries are constituted and endowed as distinct sees.

Little William is still very seriously ill, but he is reported to be rather better to-day. If it should please God to restore him, he may be too much enfeebled to bear a sea voyage this year, and therefore we shall probably detain him till October 1848. But I speak blindly of the future, not knowing whether the hand of death may not be even now upon him. The state of my diocese is more hopeful than I could have expected, and I think with good sense at home and practical knowledge of this people and country, this colony may still realize the hopes which were formed at its foundation. We have been cursed by a more than usual share of speculative talk ending in nothing; more philanthropy has been written about New Zealand and less practised than about any other country in the world. If people will now talk less and do more, we may still have the happiness of adding another noble people to the family of civilized man. . . .

As he had written some months before, so now, on May 22, the bishop wrote again to Mr. Abraham, in reference to his joining him. The prospect seems always to have been present to the bishop's mind as the one thing which most cheered him, and at the same time there was also present the fear lest the reality of the work should lead to the disappointment of exaggerated expectations.

College Schooner "Undine,"
Kawau Copper Mine, *May 22nd*, 1847.

My very dear Friend,

Last night, during a perfect calm, I refreshed myself by reading all the letters which I have received from you

since I left England, in number, seventeen. In a state of no less perfect repose, at anchor in smooth water, within a furlong of the copper-mine, on the island of Kawau, with my thoughts still full of the joy and thankfulness which your letters always cause, I sit down in my now spacious cabin to commune with you. This community adds much to the pleasure of my thoughts, for instead of a reckless and godless band of drunkards, the great body of the labouring people are sober, and well-disposed to religion. On my first visit, though their rush huts were streaming with water over the mud floors, nearly forty children assembled to school in as neat attire as could be seen in any village in England. The congregation at divine service was nearly one hundred, all apparently attentive and devout. As you may suppose, it is a mixed community of all religious persuasions, and sometimes a Wesleyan preaches, and sometimes a local preacher, and sometimes myself. But I make a rule to ask no questions, and assume all to be Churchmen till they declare their unwillingness to listen to me, which is never the case. To-morrow (Whitsun-Day) I hope to hold two services with them, and superintend, or rather assist at, the distribution of prizes to the school children.

The growth of these distant communities, and the evident good effect of a regular system of visiting them, makes me naturally more anxious about the college, which must be deprived of my superintendence the more these settlements multiply. For this reason, among a thousand others, I look forward to the "end of the half century" with eager longings, more intense perhaps than I am right in feeling after so many warnings from God that I should not set my affections upon any human friend, so as to murmur if he be not granted to me. But who can forbear to hope for such aid as your letters stedfastly promise, (more and more stedfastly, I see with delight, as the time draws nearer,) when I feel the feebleness of my own powers to follow out the openings for good which, in spite of all adversaries, are still to be seen on every side.

Perhaps I never felt so much stricken as of late, when the time that I had reckoned upon for the consolidation of the College System has been absorbed almost entirely in the cares attendant upon an epidemic fever, which has

affected thirty of our body in the last three months, including four strangers whom we received into the hospital from places where they would probably have died for want of assistance.

Now that the excitement is over I feel unusually depressed, partly by the prospect of another long visitation tour in which the college will not have either Mr. Cotton's or my superintendence; partly the dispersion of my last year's schools, with much less advance than I had hoped to see; and partly my own besetting sense of a dilemma at present inextricable, that I cannot cope with my work without a more spiritual mind; and that my spiritual growth is checked by this ceaseless intercourse with petty thoughts and cares. I do not wonder that there is no diaconal system in England, for it seems to be a task of almost hopeless difficulty to persuade young men that for a time they may do God more service by leaving their elders free to pray and to preach, than by rushing into the higher duties of the ministry which they have not proved, and making presbyters and bishops to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

What I have to contend with is a constant habit of deputing to incompetent persons duties which I leave in the charge of the deacons. Our native population of course encourages this, as they are most willing to be employed, but have no order or method in anything that they do, except under superintendence; and this superintendence I find it so difficult to enforce. I have scarcely a person in the place who has any eye for minute and careful arrangement, without which no barbarous people, I am sure, can ever be thoroughly Christianised. Throughout the whole mission the delusion has prevailed more or less, that the Gospel will give habits as well as teach principles. On the contrary, my conviction is, that habits uncorrected will be the thorns which will choke the good seed and make it unfruitful. What for instance is in reality gained by a man, even a native teacher, who is consistent in his own religious practice, but, as is commonly the case, takes no thought whatever for the improvement of his wife or children. How rarely we find in the poorer classes in England that religious principle is strongly developed without producing orderly habits. But to get that per-

sonal and parental care bestowed upon the native children which may qualify them to be hereafter Christian parents in every sense, is the difficulty which almost weighs me to the ground, and makes every approaching journey more and more the subject of anxious consideration; because while my body is wandering, my heart must be with my seedlings at home. If my nursery-garden prosper, and send forth its harvest of ministers and teachers like a field which the Lord has blessed, then my heart and my work may grow lighter together; if not, my diocese and its increasing wants will crush my failing powers of mind and body to the ground.

But as the time draws near, bear in mind more and more the caution I gave you in a former letter: to expect nothing from us, but to bring with you as large a stock of spiritual treasure as you can. Come to help rather than to be helped. I cannot answer for myself what may be the effect of the next three years upon an over-detailed mind. You may find me jaded in mind with the unceasing serving of tables, and from the lack of any companion with whom I can take "sweet counsel" on equal terms, or some Gamaliel at whose feet I might sit. I have long resolved to pine at nothing, however secular or distracting, during the first seven years, or what I consider my episcopal diaconate. But the thought which now most presses upon my mind is, that I do not see, as I draw nearer to the time when I feel that I ought to resign such matters to younger hands, that there are any young men who will undertake them with the same interest. But God, who has begun the work, will, I doubt not, bring it to the end ordained: whether it be for my personal good, by the failure of plans conceived, it may be, in pride rather than in faith, or for the general good of the diocese by their success.

With very kind remembrances to your father, whom, as you request, I remember in my prayers (would they were better),

I remain,

Your very affectionate Friend,

G. A. New Zealand.

It was after all humble work, which derived its glory only from the object which prompted it, and the spirit in which it was done, that tied the Bishop to the college, and the divers duties which each day presented. The epidemic having ceased, and war being at a distance he could write cheerfully the following account of his pupils:

June 29th, 1847.

MY DEAREST FATHER,

. . . . . .

The seat of war being now changed to the South, we are profoundly quiet here. It will be some time, I fear, before the Temple of Janus will be finally closed in New Zealand, and still longer before the fruit of peace will be seen in an Augustan age of literature.

We are, as usual, busy upon the first elements of grammar and the rule of three—laying the foundation for future Porsons and Newtons in generations to come. I do not think even your love, which led you to undertake the charge of the Herberts during our honeymoon, would reconcile you to the charge of my present pupils.

"Bœotûm in crasso jurares aere natos."

On September 19th of this year the bishop held an ordination of four deacons, three of whom had been trained in the college and were a welcome addition to the clerical staff, and of one priest; and in the following week he held his second Synod, and delivered his primary Charge. This was a very remarkable document, full of learning and sound doctrine, and absolutely overflowing with sound common sense when dealing with the condition and needs of his diocese.

He thus anticipated the criticisms of a friend in England to whom he sent a copy:—

"I daresay it will please nobody, as I have supposed myself writing from a New Zealand forest, exempted, by the non-conducting media of large kauri-trees, from the necessity of avowing myself to belong to any party or school, but speaking as a sort of wild man of the woods,

who has his own way of thinking, and knows very little about the thoughts of others. You will not too minutely criticise either style, printing, or binding; as the whole professes to be homespun, '*expressa arbusto*,' or Extract of Bush, without professional assistance. If it is not thought worthy of England, you may console yourself that a very small fire will consume the whole number of copies, as the whole impression is only 200."

The Charge is far too lengthy to be given in full in these pages; but copious extracts are necessary both in justice to the document itself and in consideration of the valuable counsel which it gives to all who study it, and these will be given under the heads of the different subjects dealt with.

(1.) On the Nature and Authority of a Synod.

"Our present meeting may be looked upon as one of a long series, beginning at the Council of Jerusalem, in which it has been attempted, with very various success, to discover the will of God by the assembling together of the ministers of Christ for social prayer and mutual counsel.

"We cannot ascribe a necessary or absolute infallibility to any such meetings, even when convened by the highest authority, and attended by representatives from all Christian Churches; neither on the other hand can we deny, that even an humble meeting like our own, composed of the clergy of one of the youngest branches of the Church of Christ, may hope for a share in that peculiar blessing which is promised to those who shall agree together to ask anything in their Master's name. The whole history of Synodical meetings of the clergy is full both of encouragement and of warning. The cases of failure are so numerous, that many not only question whether a Divine blessing be granted to their deliberations, but also reject them on the mere human ground of inexpediency. Others again, who look to the glorious stand in defence of Catholic truth which was made by the first General Councils, can scarcely recognise any other form of Church-government

as likely to be effectual. Even in our own Church, the treasure which we enjoy in her Articles and Liturgy may well make many thoughtful men lament the fallen authority of her Convocation. . . . .

"I need not disguise from you my belief that the cause which has led to the almost entire suspension of the synodical action of the Church has been the forgetfulness of the spiritual character of such an assembly of the clergy. Convocations and Synods have been made the battle-field on which questions relating to the prerogative of Kings, the authority of Bishops, and the rights of the Clergy, have been fiercely disputed. They seem to have followed the State in the form and manner of their deliberations; to have sheltered themselves under its power; to have availed themselves of the secular arm to enforce their spiritual censures; and so, by close alliance with worldly systems, to have lost their own inherent strength, and to have become unable to wield the sword of the Spirit. It is not surprising that in bodies so constituted, the earnest endeavour to attain to a closer likeness to Christ should have been postponed to the old question, 'which should be the greatest.' The heavenly nature of our Lord's kingdom, and His spiritual dominion over all the Churches of the earth, could not fail to be neglected amidst questions of dignity and prerogative between the rulers of the Church and the State.

"If I did not believe that our position in this country, both as regards the simplicity and primitive character of our Church establishment, and its entire freedom from all political connexion, gives us good reason to hope that we may be enabled to avoid the evils into which other Synods have fallen, I should have shrunk from the course which I now propose to you, and fallen back upon the practice, sanctioned by custom, if not approved by reason, of a formal Charge *ex cathedrâ*, upon the authority of the Bishop alone. I might then have found, as has often been the case, that some would have assented *ex animo*, some without assenting would have obeyed conscientiously, some would have denied that their promise of canonical obedience applied to the points of which they disapproved. At the best there would have been much to check co-operation and engender distrust."

(2.) On the Missionary Obligations of the New Zealand Church.

"Though it is far from my wish to reap the fruit of other men's labours against their will, or to invade the territory which they have won, yet I live in hope that we may be permitted to frame an uniform system of education for the youth of all Polynesia; that from New Zealand, as from a Missionary centre, the strictest knowledge, and the most confirmed faith, may be carried back by our students to their distant homes. We cannot consider our work accomplished till every dialect in the South Seas has its representative members in our Missionary College.

"God has already so abundantly blessed the work of His servants, that not an island remains to the eastward of New Zealand to which the Gospel has not been preached. But there is still a dark expanse, over which the banner of Christ has not yet been advanced. If any motive could justify the wish to live the full period of the patriarchial age, it would be to see Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea, and all the islands on our north, converted to the faith. It may be presumptuous to wish, yet it cannot be wrong to think of such things; for it seems to be an indisputable fact, that however inadequate a Church may be to its own internal wants, it must on no account suspend its Missionary duties; that this is in fact the circulation of its life's blood, which would lose its vital power if it never flowed forth to the extremities, but curdled at the heart. We may hope that a statement of the highest aims, and most comprehensive definition of duty, will be a means of raising the whole tone of our minds; that we shall feel thereby the full weight of the unfulfilled purposes of our ministry; and be humbled, even in the midst of our success, by thinking how far greater is the work which still remains than that which has been done."

(3.) On Controversy.

"Of controversy in general I would say, that it is the bane of the Gospel among a heathen people. When we preach to them of one God of perfect truth and wisdom; and one Mediator between God and man; and one Spirit

pervading all things, and sanctifying all the people of God; they can understand far more easily the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, how all the works and Persons of that heavenly Being agree in one, than how that Being can be the one, only, true God, and yet His doctrine and His worship not be one also. I can never forget the pointed illustration of the old chief of Taupo, when I asked him why he still refused to believe. 'Show me the way,' said he. 'I have come to the cross road. Three ways branch out before me. Each teacher says his own way is the best. I am sitting down and doubting which guide I shall follow.' He remained in doubt; till a landslip burst from the mountain under which he lived, and rushing down at midnight, overwhelmed him with all his house. In another place I have found a fierce dispute on the subject of the Reformation; the one side alleging the fires of Queen Mary's reign; the other retorting similar acts of Edward and Elizabeth. I do not scruple to avow my opinion, that such subjects are not merely injurious to the influence of the Church, but are even a hindrance to faith in the Christian religion itself. To commit a living body to the flames, an act which a New Zealander would scarcely have done, in his wildest paroxysm of savage fury, or in the indulgence of the most devilish revenge, cannot be reconciled with the history of a merciful Saviour, and the doctrines of a Gospel of Peace. That such deeds should have been done in the name of Christ, after the Gospel had been preached on earth fifteen hundred years, must be to him a doubt, admitting of no solution, but sapping the very foundations of his faith.

"The simple course seems to be to teach truth, rather by what it is, than by what it is not. Let us give our converts the true standard, and they will apply it themselves to the discovery and contradiction of error. Above all, let us teach them the right use of the Holy Scriptures, by prayer, by class reading, by catechising, by comparison of parallel passages, by analysis of doctrines, by careful definition of words, and every other method by which they may be able to refute error, and give a reason for the faith that is in them. All this may be done with no other weapon than the Word of God itself; and there is no other which a simple people can wield.

"Much of what has been said applies also to our relations with our own countrymen. We cannot expect unanimity; let us at least seek peace. Much has been written upon unity, but as yet little has been done towards an union of all religious bodies in one. This at least seems to be clear, that such a union, however highly desirable, must not be effected by a compromise of truth. When all shall have thoroughly examined the grounds of their own belief, and rejected such errors as they may find, then it is certain that all must come to unity of doctrine, because all will have been conformed to the same unalterable standard of Truth. To fuse together all religious persuasions in their present state, while they are still mixed with alloy, would be to make the process of refinement still more difficult than before. Let each purify itself to the uttermost, and then the day of union will not be far distant. In the meantime, let Christian unity be the subject of our prayers, as it was of our Lord's, and with especial reference to our peculiar ministry for the conversion of the Heathen. It follows from what has been said, that in the present state of the Christian world we should seek peace rather than union with other religious bodies."

(4.) On the Oxford Movement of 1833.

"We are called upon to join the ranks of unreasoning men, who, while they are tolerating and uniting with every other form of error, are pouring out their unmeasured invective against one. We dare not so abuse our sacred office, as to lend ourselves to cursing, when we have received commandment to bless. May God of His infinite mercy bless even our bitterest enemies, every class of Christians, who, with the misguided zeal of Saul, persecute our Church, and think that they do God service: may He have mercy upon the Church of Rome, reform all her errors, pardon all her subtleties, and abate all her false assumptions; and so restore to all Christendom that unity of heart and purpose, in which the wounds of religion were healed in the first ages, by the Catholic Councils of the Church. And in a more private, and therefore on a lower ground, on which I might have been silent, if I had not been called upon to speak, lest silence should be

construed into agreement with error, or fear of rebuking it; here also, when we are expected to censure, we find it rather in our hearts to bless—to bless those servants of God, who, when much of our apostolical discipline had been decayed and lost, devoted all the energies of their mind, and all the intensity of their prayers, to building up again the walls which seemed to be tottering to their fall —those three men, mighty in the Scriptures, who, when they found us hemmed in with enemies, and thirsting for Catholic unity, went forth to draw water for us from the well of primitive antiquity; but one was taken captive by the foreign armies which had usurped the well. May we not respect the motive, commend the effort, and bless the men, even while we reject the gift?

"You are entitled to receive this statement of my feelings, that you may know how far I sympathise with the religious movement of which Oxford was the centre, and at what point I stop. I am not called upon to censure men whose private character I revere, while I differ widely from the conclusion to which some of them have been led. While it seemed that the one object of all their endeavours was to develop in all its fulness the actual system of the Anglican Church, neither adding aught to it, nor taking away aught from it: but purifying its corruptions, calling forth its latent energies, encouraging its priesthood to higher aims, and to a more holy and self-denying life; exhorting us to fast, and watch, and pray, more frequently and more earnestly; to be more abundant in our almsgiving, more diffusive in our charity; and to that end to retrench our expenditure, and to look upon ourselves as the stewards of God—in one word, while they seemed to teach us to do in our own system and ritual what the apostles did in their days, and what our own Church still prescribes; I felt that I could not disobey their calling, because it was not theirs, but the voice of my Holy Mother whom I had sworn to obey, and the example of the apostles which it was my heart's desire to follow. But when a change came upon the spirit of their teaching, and it seemed as if our own Church were not good enough to retain their allegiance; when, instead of the unity for which we had prayed, we seemed to be on the verge of a frightful schism; then indeed I shrunk back, as if a

voice had spoken within me: Not one step further; for I love my Church in which I was born to God, and by His help I will love her unto the end."

(5.) On the Qualifications of a Preacher.

"He who, in the exercise of his cure of souls, stores up his mind, and softens his heart, with the confessions of contrite sinners; and watches the slow and painful processes of moral cure, by which a depraved life is gradually reformed; or hears the solemn thoughts of dying men, and the remorse of a conscience ill at ease; and feels in every case for his beloved parishioner as if he were his brother or his friend: that preacher will never lack argument for his sermons; and the word preached by him will have such success that it will never be spoken in vain. We, who have tasted these joys of the parochial ministry, and from it have been called to the Episcopate, can tell from our own experience how much we have lost in ceasing to be the bosom friends of the suffering poor and the dying penitent. It is well for us, if we can find compensation for the loss, in imparting to those upon whom we lay our hands, the same source of ministerial comfort."

(6.) On the Office of Archdeacons.

"If this be said to be a system which exalts the Archdeacon above other presbyters, I pray, in the name of our crucified Master, that we may never here discuss the question, 'Which shall be the greatest?' It is to be hoped that the title of a 'Dignitary' of the Church will never be heard in New Zealand. No earthly dignity, either in Church or State, can equal the moral grandeur of the leathern girdle and the raiment of camels' hair, or the going forth without purse or scrip, and yet lacking nothing."

(7.) On the Exercise of Spiritual Discipline.

"I find that the native mind has run wild upon the love of power, and the eagerness to wield the censures of the Church. A native teacher will often do in his own village what I should have recourse to with fear and

trembling, and only in extreme cases, in the English towns. It is a matter of history, that nothing is more fatal to the exercise of real discipline, than the assumption of unwarranted authority. The excessive rigour of native judgments, the public and unscriptural mode of trial of the offender, the absence of all desire to bring back and reconcile those who have been excommunicated, are evils which lie at the root of the whole Native Teacher System, and threaten to overthrow it before a supply of clergymen can be trained up to undertake their work. No better course can be adopted, than to follow strictly the rule of our Lord in S. Matt. xviii. 15—17, beginning first with *private* admonition; then with the addition of two or three witnesses; and lastly by an appeal to the authority of the Church. It ought to be impressed upon the Native Teachers that they have only authority to admonish and report to their minister, but no authority whatever to excommunicate the offender. By holding a public trial, and exposing a weak brother to the shame of having his offence discussed before all the men, women, and even the children of the place, we shall harden his heart against every thought of penitence, and defeat the main object of Church discipline, which is not punishment, but repentance and reconciliation.

"You will see the difficulty in which I am placed by the excessive and arbitrary rigour of discipline in the Native Church, and by the total absence of it in the English settlements. We cannot allow this state of things to continue without exposing alike our laws and our lawlessness to the contempt of all thinking men. A moderate exercise of penitential correction, uniformly acted upon in all cases without distinction of persons, would be a blessing to the country, and fulfil the wish which we express on Ash Wednesday, that the godly discipline of the primitive Church may be restored. I am well aware that there is no function of my office more difficult of administration than this; and that I shall incur the suspicions of many in attempting to exercise it. But it is impossible to doubt that a law is right which is enjoined in Scripture, and that a course is practicable which is actually practised by all other Christian communities but our own. The strict communions and the prompt expulsion of notorious evil

livers are the boast of all the dissenting bodies, and the point of all others upon which they regard their system as superior to that of the Church. Not that we can be said to recognise no penitential system of discipline, but that we seldom put it into operation. And thus we are censured for every ungodly sinner who continues among us unreproved; and for every notorious profligate whose remains we consign to the earth with the same words of 'sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection.' And worse than all, it is not we alone that suffer, for it may be good for us to be reviled, but our erring brethren, for whom Christ died, may be lost for ever by our timidity, for lack of that solemn and even awful warning which the Church prescribes, but which we dare not pronounce.

"If we seek the cause of all failure of Church discipline among ourselves, while it remains in force among other religious communities, we shall find, I think, that our Church departed from her vantage-ground when she sought the aid of the secular arm to enforce her censures. It was not the mourning of the mother over the child whom she repels from her bosom; it was not the Church of the apostles holding the keys, and one day using them to exclude the sinner, and the next day to readmit the penitent: but it was the merging of her own spiritual authority in worldly ordinances; and, 'as if unworthy to judge the smallest matters,' vacating the power which she had received to judge angels and the world (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3). In the train of this false alliance with the civil power came the vain and fatal attempts to constrain men to uniformity, not by force of reason, or by her own purity of doctrine, but by the terrors of the law: till men 'started aside like a broken bow,' and the power which had been abused to coerce conscience, became useless for its own proper work of reforming sin. . . . .

"The last solemn warning, when all others have failed, is the sentence of excommunication. And if we cannot be safe in withholding the lower and less striking warning, how can we dare, in extreme cases, to keep back that which is the most solemn and impressive of all? To allow a man to go down without repentance to his grave, while any means remained untried for his conversion, would be worse than the act of a physician, who, having tried many

of the usual remedies in vain, suffered the sick man to die without trying the effect of the strongest of all. What a false charity is this, to shrink from giving pain, while time is still allowed for repentance; and so to leave the pain to be felt first in all its agony, when repentance will be unavailing? . . . .

"In no other way can we come to peace of conscience in the discharge of our ministry, than by fulfilling the law of the Church relating to discipline. Neither can a clergyman discharge his full duty to a sinner while he withholds from him any of the appointed warnings of the Gospel; nor can he avoid the obligation to use the Burial Office, without alteration or omission, unless the final warning shall have been given in the most solemn form of excommunication. It remains then only to state, what seems to be the practical course to which we are bound to adhere. In few words: if any parishioner, after repeated warnings, continues to live in such a state, that his Clergyman could not with a safe conscience use the Burial Service over his grave, he must be presented formally to the Bishop, to be by him again and again admonished and exhorted to repent. As a last resource, and with fear and searching of heart, I would pronounce the sentence of excommunication, which would release you from the obligation of violating your own consciences by giving Christian burial to one who persisted in an unchristian course of life. This burden falls upon me, and not upon you, and, with God's help, I will not shrink from it. God forbid that you should incur the hatred of your people, or raise up angry passions over the graves of the dead; let it be known to be your plain duty, from which you cannot swerve; founded on a law which you cannot alter; commended to your conscience by reasons drawn from the word of God itself; and directed in its special application by an authority to which you have promised obedience."

(8.) On Divorce, and the Marriage of Unbaptized Persons.

"On the subject of divorce, I am thankful to be able to state at once that I have no power or jurisdiction whatever in such matters. I believe that the difficulty of obtaining

a divorce is one great security against the occurrence of the only cause for which it could be claimed, in accordance with the precept of the Gospel. Most certainly I will never consent to assist in introducing into this country any system by which the offending parties, if they are rich enough to incur the expense of the process, can obtain legal sanction for their unlawful desires, and bring in a second breach of the law of Christ as a direct consequence of the first. Though I am in doubt upon the general question, upon this point it is my duty to speak clearly and decisively, that in the event of any power being created in the Colony by which divorces can be pronounced, you have my full authority to refuse to re-marry those who have been divorced, and I will take upon myself the consequences of your refusal. We must obey the law of Christ at all hazards, whatever may be the ordinances of men. . . . .

"A doubt seems to have occurred, whether unbaptized persons could be married with the rites of the Church. In the case of unbelievers I think that we ought not to use the Christian ordinances; but where persons have already professed their belief, and are only hindered from baptism by the prescribed course of probation, I see no reason to think that they may not rightly receive the marriage benediction. As a practical observation, founded upon the state of the native people, I should very much prefer that marriage should be allowed first, to be followed by baptism in its own convenient season, than that baptism should be unduly hurried as a qualification for marriage. There is a doubt in either case which may be expressed in the form of a dilemma. We hesitate to marry persons because they are not baptized; and we hesitate to baptize them because they are living in sin. No doubt the clear course would be to postpone marriage and enforce separation till both persons had been duly examined and baptized: but we must remember that we are legislating for a Church of proselytes, and that there is a rule of the Gospel which teaches us not to put new wine into old bottles. The doubt is of a temporary nature, and in the next generation, we may hope, will be entirely removed by the administration of infant baptism."

(9.) On the Nature and Limits of Episcopal Authority.

"You have heard already the definition of the Venerable Bede, that the Episcopate is a title, not of honour, but of work; and in that spirit I trust to be enabled to exercise my office. I do not consider myself exempt from any duty which can fall upon any Priest or Deacon in the Diocese, except so far as my own purely Episcopal duties shall absorb my time, and demand a priority of attention. 'Only on the throne will I be greater' than you. It is not so much that I have vacated any other order to which I was formerly ordained, but that I have been consecrated to another office, the duties of which are added to those for which I was responsible before.

"Upon this principle it follows at once, that I am placed here to act, not so much over you, as with you. For one point in which I seem to be placed over you, that is, in the power of coercion and government, there are many in which I am associated with you in the discharge of the duties of the same Divine Ministry. And even in the power of coercion, which I seem to exercise, it is not so much in my own person that I so act, as in the spirit of the whole Clergy, or rather of the Church Catholic, the execution of whose decrees is vested in me. *I believe the monarchical idea of the Episcopate to be as foreign to the true mind of the Church, as it is adverse to the Gospel doctrine of humility.* Let it never be thought that I alone am interested in the good government of our Church; and that you are merely subjects to obey. Whatever interest I have in the work, you have also. If an offending brother is to be brought under the censure of the Church, what am I but the organ of the general sense of the Clergy, which demands that the unclean thing shall be put away, as a scandal to their order? I might consult my own ease by conniving at disorder; but you would reap the bitter fruit in the decay of your influence, and in the growing indifference, if not contempt, of your people. You must recognise therefore a joint interest in the office of the Bishop, looking upon him not as a tyrant to compel you to do what you would not; but as your own agent

and instrument to carry into effect what you know to be right, and wish to do, but which you could not accomplish of yourselves.

"It was in days of persecution and of danger, when the crown of martyrdom was at hand, that Cyprian said to his presbyters, 'I will do nothing in your absence;' and in proportion as we feel the difficulties and sorrows of our work, the loss of our dear brethren in the ministry, the falling away of our native converts, and the growth of evil; so much the more are we drawn together into one cause, resolved to allow no questions of dignity, no private interests, to rend asunder our social system and divide our house against itself. We have difficulties enough to overcome, without adding to them the only one which is insuperable, that of disunion among ourselves. The expression *ma* of our native language, I pray may always be affixed to my name. I would rather resign my office, than be reduced to act as a single and isolated being. In such a position, my true character, I conceive, would be entirely lost.

"It remains then to define, by some general principles, the terms of our co-operation. They are simply these: that neither will I act without you, nor can you act without me. The source of all diocesan action is in the Bishop; and therefore it behoves him so much the more to take care that he act with a mind informed and reinforced by conference with his Clergy. He cannot delegate his power of action to any, for it is inherent in himself; but he may guard himself from arbitrary and ill-considered acts, by giving to his council a salutary power of control. In works of which the effect must depend upon moral influence and willingness of heart, it is better not to act at all, than to act against the declared opinion of those who are conjointly interested in the plan, and mainly responsible for the execution of it."

(10.) On Patronage.

"The present state of the Church of England is a proof of the enormous evils which have sprung from the abuse of patronage, the perversion of ecclesiastical offices, and the worldliness of mind induced by the unequal distribution

of the revenues of the Church. These we are not bound to imitate, but to cast them off, as evils which the Fathers of the Reformation recognised as blots upon their system, forced upon them by the State as the price of its support. The spiritual system of doctrine and discipline fixed by the Reformation is that to which we owe our unqualified allegiance, as agreeing with Scripture and with the practice of the Primitive Church."

The main business of the Synod was the revision of the Canons of the Synod of 1844, against which only one protest had been received, and the formation of a plan of Church-government as the basis of a body of law for the diocese, which had been suggested to the bishop and the Archbishop of Canterbury by Mr. Gladstone, while holding the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The week which witnessed the assembling of the Diocesan Synod found the bishop engaged in another work from which many a man would have shrunk. Long before New Zealand had become a colony, before even the question arose whether France or England should colonize it, some of the missionaries had acquired by purchase large tracts of land, which for the most part were still uncultivated. The time had now come when the value of land was increased, and the Government fixed a limit to the number of acres which any one person could hold: this ordinance could not be retrospective in its action, but the fact that the missionaries did in some cases possess large holdings aroused the jealousies of the colonists and the prejudices of the natives. The Government was prepared to offer them liberal terms if they would give up their lands, but they could not be compelled to do so. Sir George Grey therefore asked the bishop to use his influence. The bishop did not shrink from the task, and in a weighty letter implored them, "for the sake of a few waste and worthless acres, not to alienate the confidence of those who offered most zealous friendship and assistance." While admitting that in the acquisition of so much land they had been actuated

by an earnest desire for the welfare of their children, the bishop added, "I have trusted that the time would come when your children would learn, as some have done already, to renounce the barren pride of ownership for the moral husbandry of Christ's kingdom, in the harvest-field of souls. For yourselves, I have only further to express my conviction that when the first sting shall have passed away of alleged misconduct, and of imputation which you believe to be unjust, you will be the first to acknowledge that there is a Christian meekness and an active zeal, by which the Christian missionary may inherit the earth, though he have no other possession in it than a grave."

Before this year ends another letter is sent to the Rev. E. Coleridge by the hands of the Rev. W. Cotton, who returned to England after six years' service in New Zealand. It shows the fertility of the bishop's mind. While planning the extension and subdivision of his own diocese he had had very clear conceptions of the need of the Mother Church: and now the consolidation of the New Zealand Church and its augmented staff seemed to him but a stepping-stone to the regions beyond, whose evangelization had never been absent from his thoughts, although duties more imperative in their nature had hitherto prevented his doing more than think of it.

St. John's College, New Zealand,
Dec. 7th, 1847.

. . . Herewith I commend to your good offices Leonard Williams, the eldest son of the Archdeacon of Waiapu, who will not, I think, disgrace his excellent father or St. John's College. Only one thing I stipulate, that you do not steal him from us, but send him back replenished with every good and holy knowledge to follow in his father's steps.

On the subject of the said Archdeacon of Waiapu I have somewhat confidential to say. He is an episcopally-minded man, and it would give me great pleasure to divide my diocese with him. Yea, let him take all, as I cannot pretend to equal his piety or maturity of wisdom. The

Bishop of Australia is of the same mind. He said of him: "He is the man that I should like to have with me when I am dying." Now, experience has proved to me that a collegiate bishopric in a simple country like this may be maintained with credit, and dignity, for the sum stated in the Church almanac for "bishops," viz. 500*l.* a year. The archdeacon's present income is about 300*l.* a year, and I should be very glad to begin by transferring 200*l.* of the Church Missionary payment to the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund in augmentation of his income. . . . .

You have gladdened our hearts by the report of the steadfastness of our dear friends at Oxford. O let us not desert our Holy Mother at the very time when she shows signs of returning vitality! The experience of a new colony convinces me that the Church of England system fully worked—

1. Under an able and pious head;
2. With sufficient clergy of one mind;
3. With no pecuniary bias;
4. With no State interference;
5. With free power of expansion;
   a. In its own field,
   b. Over the heathen world;
6. With a "sacramentum" of obedience;
   "Here am I, send me;"
   "I go, sir;"
   as well understood as in the army and navy;
7. With a definition of the duties of
   Bishops,
   Archdeacons, Rural Deans,
   Priests,
   Deacons, Schoolmasters,
   Clergymen's wives;
8. With an exclusion of all interference of relations, as in the military and naval service:

That, these postulates granted, the Church of England would speedily become a praise upon the whole earth. I omit all esoteric points of discipline, ministerial confession, &c., as I believe them even now to be in the power of any clergyman who acquires an influence over his people. . . .

Our ordination in September was worthy of England. Thirteen clergymen partook of the Holy Communion. Our

native and English schools chanted the Glorias and sang the Veni Creator. The church was filled as I have not seen a church filled since I took leave of my dear friends at Windsor.

Our College Chapel has been opened and consecrated; and now we feel what it is to have again a heart, for you may assure all your pupils who go to the daily service, that a few years in a colony would convince them of the value of the blessings which are despised in England. Let them persevere in their work of intercession; and in their prayers remember New Zealand. Tell them from me that a college without a daily service is like a body without breath or circulation of blood. Our consecration was not without its fruit; several of our college boys then communicated for the first time. The Windsor plate emerged again, having slumbered since our last communion at the Waimate. Pray tell Sharman and the Windsor co-operatives, and dear old Mr. Meyricke, that we thought of them on that day. . . . .

You will perhaps be surprised to hear that I am likely to sail soon for the Navigator Islands in Her Majesty's ship *Dido*. The hero of my Æneid will be no less a personage than Mr. Pritchard of œcumenical reputation. It seems that the good man has had some quarrel with the natives about a horse, and has written for a man-of-war to wreak his wrongs. Such a proceeding on the part of a man of such missionary note in former times, though now only a trading Consul, seems likely to have the effect of estranging the natives from the London Mission, to which he belonged, and throwing them upon the Papists, who are on the watch in all parts of these seas. To obviate this, and in remembrance of the Archbishop's valedictory letter, in which I am solemnly urged to watch the spread of the Gospel over the Pacific Ocean, I think of accepting the offer of Captain Maxwell of a place in his cabin, and shall probably sail in a week for the Samoan or Navigator group. My endeavour will be to bring back some promising boys to associate with our native scholars, as a beginning of the Polynesian branch of St. John's College, which is deeply impressed upon my mind as a thing essentially necessary. There is a floating body of rogues and vagabonds who wander from island to island successively as British justice

overtakes one place after another; setting up their grog-shops just outside the pale of civilization, and there poisoning the work of the missionary and breaking his heart. Such was Kororareka before the country was colonized; at least so I have heard it described. If it please God that I carry this into effect, I will not fail to send you a choice letter on the Samoans and their illustrious Consul.

Sarah has just remarked that Mr. Cotton's visit will have a good effect in setting before you our real state; as opposed to the rose-coloured idea. . . . We are in a very matter-of-fact state; making slow progress, but prepared to be thankful so long as we make any progress at all . . .

CHAPTER VIII.

[1848.]

SEVEN years had been spent in active labour before the bishop could feel that New Zealand was suitably cared for in spiritual things, and that he was at liberty to extend the sphere of his ministrations. From Kaitaia at the North to Stewart's Island at the South, over a length of 1,000 miles, he had discovered by personal observation that there was not a village in which the Scriptures were unknown. Out of a native population of 100,000 more than one-half had embraced Christianity, and the remainder had ready access to the means of grace whenever they would accept them. This indeed had been known for some time, but the fatal affray at the Wairau, the burning of Kororareka, and the subsequent wars at the Waimate, at Whanganui, and at Porirua had kept every one at their posts, from the governor to the private soldier, and from the bishop to his youngest catechist. Just as peace was restored in New Zealand a fatal affray between the crews of two English vessels and the natives of Rotuma and Granville Islands called for the intervention of the Government. At the request of Sir George Grey, H.M.S. *Dido* went to inquire into the circumstances of the affray ; and her commander, Captain Maxwell, by allowing the bishop to act as chaplain and instructor while the chaplain of the

ship spent a few weeks on shore at Auckland to recruit his health, gave him the opportunity so long desired, but which could not earlier have been embraced, even had it been offered, of acquiring some practical knowledge of the vast and almost unexplored field of Melanesia, and of observing the method pursued by those missionaries who had commenced to explore it.

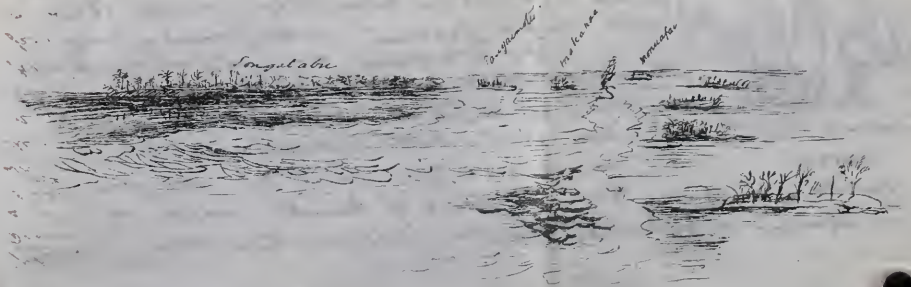
These were many in number, and represented only too adequately the divisions of Christendom. A Roman Catholic Bishop had resided for some time in New Caledonia, and another bishop of the same communion had lost his life on the island of Ysabel in the Solomon group. John Williams, of the Congregationalist body, had lost his life at Erromango in the New Hebrides, and not a few of the native teachers had died what might be called martyr deaths in Futuna, Faté, and the Isle of Pines. In the New Hebrides and in the Loyalty group native teachers of the Congregationalists were working, and the Wesleyans had also sent emissaries of their denomination to several of the islands.

On Dec. 23, 1847, the bishop thus found himself on board H.M.S. *Dido*, and on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1848, while the ship was lying at anchor at Tonga Tabu, he wrote a letter, of which a facsimile is here reproduced, as an example of the letters which he used to write for the solace of his father; so long as the exercise of his great artistic talent would give pleasure to his father he did not grudge the time which was necessary, but when death had removed those to whom his drawings gave pleasure he never indulged in what was to him the great delight of sketching; as he said the beauty of the scenery in the midst of which he constantly lived and travelled, would be a snare to him. The letter which is here given is only a specimen of very many of the same style.

Tonga Tabu. Epiphany 1848.
H. M. Ship Dido at anchor.

My dearest Father,

If you have not forgotten your reading of Cook's voyages you will have a clear idea of my present position. At the request of the governor of New Zealand, seconded by my own strong inclination, I took my passage in H. M. Ship Dido Captain Maxwell, on a cruise to some of the Islands in the South Sea. Lest you should think that I have gone out of the range of my own duty, I must tell you that the Archbishop of Canterbury in his valedictory letter to me, commended to my notice the prospect of Christianity "throughout the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific"; a charge, which the troubled state of New Zealand has hitherto prevented me from attempting to fulfil. Peace being happily restored, and so favourable an opportunity being offered, I embarked on board this ship on the 29th December, Captain Maxwell, son of Sir Murray M. most kindly gave me a place in his cabin, where I enjoy a degree of comfort and luxury which I have not known in the Flying Fish & Rhadamanthus. After a slight N. E. gale which we met after leaving New Zealand, we fell in with the trade wind from the S. E. and on the tenth day came in sight of land (Eooa) within 8 miles of Tonga-tabu: on the 3rd of January, with a bright & sparkling trade wind we sailed between the Coral reefs of Tongatabu, adjoining the white line of foam dividing the deep blue waste of the ocean from the sea green lagoon within: with a labyrinth of small islands on our right hand, & the coast of Tonga on the left.



a native pilot conducted us into the harbour, with whom I practised the Tonga dialect, having studied it during the voyage But I found that it is so different from the New Zealand dialect though radically the same that it will take me a long time I am afraid to say, before I shall be able to speak it fluently. When the ship was anchored, we were surrounded by a fleet of small Canoes, with the well known "Coquine" supplies, of Bananas, Cocoa nuts, Breadfruit & Yam. On landing the next morning, we were met on the beach by Mr. Thomas, the Senior member of the Wesleyan Mission, who has spent twenty years in the Friendly Islands. He guided us through shady lanes of Cocoa nut, Plantain & Breadfruit with neat fences wattled with reeds. to his own house, a native building formed of the stems of the Cocoanut tied together with string made from the bark. In the village around us the busy sound of wooden mallets beating out native cloth gave a life & spirit to the village; though neither houses nor people could be seen. Through this delightful shade the trade wind caused a most refreshing coolness. at noon we went to the school, where 220 children assembled, and went through their exercises under the direction of Mr. Amos, who has lately arrived to organize a school system in the Wesleyan Mission. They were all dressed in the native fashion, with short kilts of native cloth, or leaves; and the bust bare, and anointed with Cocoanut oil. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος καὶ ἐλαίῳ χρίειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ is the preparation for all ceremonies throughout the Pacific: The lower classes of young children use the most amusing little objects, as children crowns; the effect of which custom is visible in the strong mops of hair which the upper classes present. On the following Evening I was invited to a school meeting, at which all the children formed a procession, each bearing a little present for me, some a shell, some a chicken, some a little Calabash of Cocoanut oil, all of which were laid at my feet. I made them a speech of thanks, which Mr. Thomas interpreted. You may suppose that I was greatly

Juvenile Tongans

TONGA. SCHOOL.

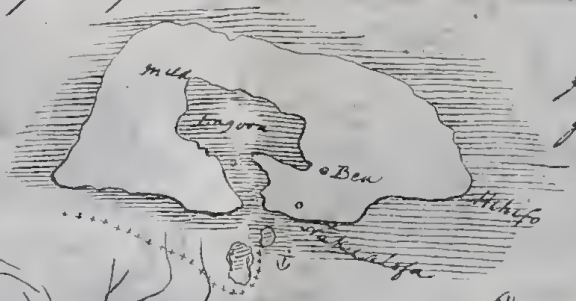
interested and gratified by the sight

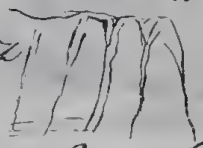
During our stay I walked over the greatest part of the Island visiting the other Wesleyan stations at Nukuʻalofa and Mua. At the former I had another school meeting, with 125 children, all greeting me with a cheerful countenance, resplendent with oil, but not perfumed with that, for the pure cocoanut oil is limpid & fragrant. The native chapel at Nukuʻalofa is a noble building, but without walls, but bound together with the cocoanut rope, beautifully arranged in variegated patterns. In the neighbourhood is the Westminster or scene of Tonga, the place of Inauguration of the Chief King of the Islands - under the shade of a spreading Wava (or wild Fig Tree)

Mr Turner's chapel now stands on the site of the fort of Nukuʻalofa described in Mariner's Tonga Islands; and by the side of it lies the body of Captain Croker of her M. Ship Favourite who was killed in an assault upon the heathen fortress of Bea in the middle of the Island. We visited the place of his death, which is a large Kolo or fort surrounded by a moat; with strong gates formed of stems of trees. Hollow trees are laid in the embankment for loop holes to fire through. and a stockade wattled with reeds is placed at the top. The inside of the fort is full of Cocoa nut & Bananas. The only good springs of water are in the neighbourhood -

Captain Croker's death was the result of an attempt to carry out an armed mediation between two contending parties in Tonga, in which he proceeded with very little prudence or knowledge of native character; and unhappily lost his life when attacking the fort of which I have given you an idea in the Sketch -

In visiting the Wesleyan Stations at the Mua I came to a gigantic Ovava tree at the head of the Lagoon which runs deep into the middle of Tongatabu thus. The Ovava resembles the Banian in its mode of growth - the young tree as it grows shoots feelers down into the ground,





which by degrees become consolidated into one enormous trunk. By rating I measured the girth of the tree & found it 23 fathoms.

The roots on one side run down into the shallow water of the Lagoon: over which enormous limbs stretch out; no longer needing the support of the clustered roots, but seemingly as strong and independent as the oak itself.

My respect for Mr Thomas the Wesleyan Missionary increased with my stay at Tonga. He seems to be an earnest & devoted man; and I hope that the young Coadjutors so who have lately joined him will follow in his steps -

Nothing can be conceived more delicious than the walks at Tongatabu. They are the garden of the Hesperides without the Dragon; for since heathenism has been almost driven out, every part of this Island may be freely visited. Over head are clusters of the most delicious tropical fruits: and you

hair scarcely even to ask for them, for they are freely offered to the traveller, when he enters into the house. The paths are carefully kept, of good width, & about root or stone to catch the feet, and with an overhanging shade of various trees to keep off the heat of the sun. The ground being perfectly level, you may suppose that my New Zealand steps sped gaily over such a different surface from that of my own Islands. While I should not wish to change for there is an enervating and luxurious softness about the climate & country which might - Capsize many weak minds, and take out from their manliness its nerve & spirit - I am delighted with these Islands & their people, yet prepared to return contentedly to my own.

The Friendly Islanders are certainly in many respects a more pleasing people than the New Zealanders; and the prospect is better for their increasing in numbers but there seems to be one prevailing complaint throughout the South Seas that the Polynesian race cannot be induced to work: and without that how can they become a civilized people. The New Zealanders on the contrary are ready & willing to work; and under good masters are evidently improving by it

Our next stage, God willing, is Vavao one of the Hapai Islands, of which I hope to send you some account, in the form of a second chapter of the Illustrated Polynesian Mission. Believe me that in the midst of these distant Islands, "My heart unravelled still returns to home". Commending you & my dear Brothers & Sisters, to the same Holy Spirit who I trust guides me through the uttermost parts of the sea -

I remain, My dear Father
Your dutiful & very affectionate Son,
G. A. Mealand.

My kindest love to Aunt Eliza.

Rec'd at Richmond
July 1 — 1850

England. ~~via Sydney~~

William Selwyn, Esq.

Richmond.

Surrey.

—

G.A. Nkalaland.

The bishop's chief object on this voyage was to study the method of existing Missions, and his attitude towards the dissenters who had there anticipated the Church in her duty is a matter of interest. He felt himself precluded from joining in their public services, but was glad, while the guest of the missionaries, to unite with them in their family worship.

"Nature," he said, "has marked out for each missionary body its field of duty. The clusters of islands grouped together like constellations in the heavens seem formed to become new branches of the Church of Christ, and each a Church complete in itself. It is of little consequence whether these babes in Christ have been nourished by their own true Mother, or by other faithful nurses, provided that they are fed by the sincere milk of the word. The time must come, I think, when they will be no longer under tutors or guardians, for this present government by English Societies is admitted to be preparatory to the introduction of self-government into the native Churches, and then I shall be free to communicate with every branch of the great Polynesian family, as with bodies in no respect liable to the imputation of schism or dissent."

But while the bishop thus refrained from puzzling heathens by the claims of contending creeds, others were not so moderate. At Pangopango, on the small island of Tutuila, the bishop landed on January 19 with Captain Maxwell, and he wrote :—

"In this sequestered spot, schism presented itself in the most singular form. Some years ago the Wesleyan Mission sent two of its body to the Navigator Islands, with a large body of native teachers, who stand in the same relation to the missionary, as the ψῖλοι and τοξόται to the ὁπλῖται of the Greek armies. By agreement between the Wesleyan and London Missionary Societies, the English missionaries were withdrawn, but the light-armed force owing no allegiance to Bishopsgate Street, holds its ground by orders of the king of Tonga, who is the nursing father of the Wesleyan interest in the Friendly Islands. The consequence is that one-half of a small village adheres to Mr. Murray

and the other half to the Tonga teacher, and separate chapels, services, and systems attest the power of Satan, even in this peaceful island, in dividing the house of Christ against itself. The Tonga teacher, much as he wished to hear the news from Tonga and Vovau, would not come with us to the house of the rival teacher, where we were going to dine. This is one instance out of many; and it will surely strike every thoughtful Christian, that I, who have been charged with bigotry and intolerance for advocating unity and opposing dissent, should have had the evils of schism again and again brought under my notice by members of the English Independent body and of the Scotch secession."

This was avowedly a voyage of observation, and the bishop's eye was keen to discern every, even the minutest circumstance which could help him in the great undertaking on which he hoped to enter. He explored, more or less thoroughly, the Friendly, Navigator, and New Hebrides groups. When at the Isle of Pines he met with unsuspected good fortune: the island bore an evil name, and Captain Maxwell demurred to allowing the bishop to land. The bishop was bent on entering the lagoon: in vain the officers dissuaded him: he borrowed a small boat and sculled himself inside; and no sooner had he entered the narrow passage than just round the corner in a sequestered nook he saw an English trading schooner, with one white man on deck, smoking a pipe and quite at his ease. He said to him, "Why, how is this? This is one of the worst islands of the Pacific: here is a man-of-war afraid to enter, and yet you seem to be here in perfect contentment?" The owner of the schooner, Captain Paddon, was on shore, trafficking with the natives for sandal-wood which he carried to China for use in their Joss-houses; but he came on board soon and explained to the bishop the reason of his lying in safety in the harbour. He said, "By kindness and fair dealing I have traded with these people for many years. They have cut many thousand feet of sandal-wood for me, and brought it on board my schooner. I never

cheated them, I never treated them badly—we thoroughly understand each other."

Here then was a valuable secret acquired, and the bishop was always wont to speak of Captain Paddon as "My Tutor." In subsequent years he never went to those islands without first finding out where Captain Paddon was, and what islands were really dangerous at that time, and what crimes and offences had recently been perpetrated in those seas. Captain Paddon on his side had a great affection for the bishop, and called one of his schooners the *Bishop;* and thus in turn got access readily to those islands on which the bishop had effected a landing but which were new to him. The name of "Bishop" got so popular in these latitudes, that when Captain Denham of H.M.S. *Herald,* on a voyage of exploration, landed on one of the islands and began setting up his theodolites, and the natives menaced him and his party, on his observing to the mate that one of the natives had a terrible wound apparently inflicted by a *fish-hook,* the man mistook the word for "Bishop," and the people at once were friendly.

But even thus early the infamous conduct of unprincipled English traders was sowing those seeds of ill-will and of righteous retaliation, the full harvest of which was reaped in 1870, when Bishop Patteson was massacred at Nukapu. The Bishop recorded the following incident:—

"When we rounded the western point, and came under the shelter of the island, an English pilot came off to us in a canoe; and the captain took him on shore with us in the ship's boat. On our way he produced a register of the ships which had touched at the island, with the objects for which they came. Among the last arrivals was the following entry:—

"Brig *Portania*
Schooner *Velocity* } Trading for Cannibals!!!"

"This was the transaction into which Captain Maxwell was instructed to inquire; and it cannot be better described than in the words of the pilot of Rotuma. The business of the vessels was to trade for cannibals; and, when they

could not be obtained by fair means, to take them by force. The following was the result of the inquiry, taken by Captain Maxwell on the island, and confirmed by a separate examination of two New Zealanders whom I conversed with while he was engaged in his own conference with the natives of the place.

"It appeared that Messrs. Boyd of Sydney had engaged the above vessels to sail to several islands in the Pacific to procure natives to be brought to Australia to serve as shepherds and herdsmen; that they sailed first to Uea, one of the Loyalty group near New Caledonia, and induced a young chief to embark with thirty of his men, as the captains of the vessels allege with a written engagement to serve a term of years at fixed wages: but as two of the Uea men whom we saw at Rotuma, again and again declared, with no agreement at all, but only for the purpose of seeing the country (kal hanua). When the natives of Uea were taken on board, the vessels sailed to Rotuma in hopes of completing their cargo; but failing in obtaining men there they went on to the line, to the Kingsmill or Gilbert Archipelago, and there procured more men, but on what inducement I do not know. On their return from the Kingsmill they stopped a second time at Rotuma; and there the Uea men, having been then two months on board, and having sailed several thousand miles, and being then further from Sydney than when they set out, jumped overboard and swam to the shore. The captain of one of the vessels went on shore with his boats to demand the surrender of the men. Konas, the chief of Motusa, met him at the landing-place, and told him that the men were not with him, but with Tilotolas, a greater chief than himself, at the other end of the island. The captain upon this attempted to seize Konas as an hostage, and when the natives resisted, he ordered his crew to fire; and an affray ensued, in which one native was killed, and two Englishmen killed or wounded. The boat's crew was obliged to retire, leaving the captain's double-barrelled gun in the hands of the natives, by whom it was given up to Captain Maxwell. Tilotolas, whom we saw the next day, when he was asked whether the affray had caused much exasperation among his people, coolly answered: "No, we considered it settled; as we believed that we killed *two for*

one." The greater part of the Uea men were taken back to their country by an American ship, but seven remained at Rotuma, two of whom were examined by Captain Maxwell."

On March 4, 1848, the bishop was able to write in his log: "Anchored in Waitemata at 10 P.M. Θεῷ Χάρις." He had seen for himself the islands among which it was afterwards his privilege to carry the Divine message, and had learned many things which would aid him in his task. On the 24th of the same month, after a few busy days at the college, he set sail in the little *Undine*, of which much will be recorded in these pages before she becomes unseaworthy and is supplanted by a larger vessel. This cruise lasted until July 4, and during the leisure thus secured the bishop wrote many letters: among them was one of congratulation to the late Dean Peacock, who had recently married his younger sister. It will be seen, as the writer apologetically says, that the congratulations were reserved until the end, but the letter is not less interesting to the reader on that account.

To the late Dean of Ely, the Very Reverend George Peacock.

"Undine" Schooner, at Sea,
March 28th, 1848.

My dear Brother,

My congratulations to you will not be the less appropriate, because my day, which has begun by taking a lunar observation, and teaching some of my college associates the elements of navigation, will now be devoted to communication with one whose name alone is enough to reproach me with my own lack of mathematical knowledge. If you should look upon me as an unworthy brother, I must plead in extenuation, that, though I neglected mathematics at Cambridge, and navigated the Cam, without thought of sun or star, I am now becoming of necessity a Palinurus in my latter days; and endeavour to follow the example of him, who

"inter media æquora semper
Stellarum cælique plagis superisque vacavit."

This motto Charles Selwyn wrote in the case of my sextant before I left England, in correct anticipation of the course of my episcopal life in New Zealand. My own vivid recollections of Ely, (a place to which I was so much attached, that I once walked from Cambridge to the morning service, and back again to hall), enable me to picture to myself your happiness in living in constant sight of that glorious gateway in the Deanery garden, and under the shadow of the walls of the cathedral, and enjoying your daily services with one, who has been trained up to value all the ordinances of our Church, and is able to drink in the soul of sacred harmony in your choir. And I have looked so much into the charter and statutes of Ely, in former times, that I can fully rejoice in your having now another mind associated with you to enter into the spirit of all your improvements, not only the beautiful restoration of your fabric, but the moral energy of your cathedral action, and the development of the expansive good for which your body is designed. Instead of a disjoined prebendal ministry, and a few forlorn "empty housekeepers," and all the other anomalies of a Chapter so well, yet so painfully sketched by Pugin, you will have hearts that will rise upon the inspiration of the place, till they fill out that outline which Cranmer drew, and are strengthened to extend themselves beyond it.

While you are in the midst of these time-honoured associations, I am in the midst of everything new; even the steep and barren hills are of recent formation: the inhabitants tracing their descent to a migration dating only a few generations back: our colony, only six years old, and yet administered during its brief life, by six Secretaries of State at home, and four Governors here, all succeeding one another with such rapidity, that their doings and undoings, like the +'s and −'s in an involved equation, have left but a miserable value of x after all. And now the newest of all new things, the pleistocene of New Zealand, is its new Constitution, to work out which I hope they will appoint Sir John Herschel as governor, for no one less intimately versed in the systems of double and treble stars can unravel a form of government, in which one governor-in-chief, two governors, and two lieutenant-governors, are to

reign in New Zealand, not fixed, but like Shakespeare's moon, whirling one about another "with wondrous motion," till the whole country will be scribbled over with their courses, "centric and eccentric, cycle in epicycle, orb in orb."

Still you must not suppose that I envy you your cathedral repose; and the luxurious interchange of elevating thoughts with kindred minds, which the neighbourhood of the university affords: still less your domestic happiness; for in that, on my return from every long journey, I feel myself blessed beyond all other men: nor even your opportunities of holy meditation and prayer in places where the mind feels at once that it is holy ground: all these I cannot envy you, because I am convinced that you have all these things, not for your own good only, but also as stewards for us who have them not. Your venerable cathedrals, if rightly used and reverently kept, will send forth, even to us, a prescriptive power, which will dignify even our boarded chapels with a known relationship to the noblest of all the temples of God on earth. Your daily intercession will bring down blessings upon us, who in the wild forests, and the restless seas, and in the care of all the churches, find scarcely leisure so much as to pray. Your daily advances in science will enable you to simplify the elements of knowledge down to the level of the understanding of our colonial youth. The shadow of your cathedral will nurture plants, which hereafter will bear removal to the ruder climate of the New Zealand Church. Your excellence in music will enable you to send us teachers trained up in the true spirit of cathedral music.

It has long been a cherished thought with me, that the time would come, when every English cathedral would take under its especial patronage and protection one of the colonial dioceses, thus affiliated especially to itself. Without the sacrifice of Catholic unity, this would unite all parts of the Anglican Church with that peculiar and esoteric love which would secure the greatest warmth of personal feeling with the fullest development of the whole of her system. As in private feeling bound, I claim Ely as my foster-parent. Her late dean was my patron and friend, to whom I am mainly indebted for my present

position in life. Her present dean, I am now thankful to be able to call my brother. My brother William and I have fought side by side in defence of Ely, at a time when it was thought almost folly to say a word in defence of cathedrals. Above all, though I did not receive Holy Orders from a Bishop of Ely, yet it was through his letters dimissory that I was ordained both Deacon and Priest.

You see that I have already gone beyond your expectations in my claim of relationship with you: but Fanny must make my peace, if I am unreasonable. You have already offered one brotherly office nearest to my heart: to share in the guardianship of our dear boy: and I presume upon this to ask you to be a father to my diocesan children; to act with William in training up students for our college, and stamping them with your approval: (for we have had many failures for want of this): to send us out all that is most good and useful in elementary education: among other things, anything a year in advance which can give our Church Almanac a more useful character: Church music: architectural plans: in short, the whole apparatus of diocesan improvement; of which you may take it for granted, that we lack everything. Above all give us the benefit of your public intercession, with special application; and of your private prayers, now no longer single, but blended with those which for many years have never ceased to be offered up on our behalf.

When you have done all this for me, the time may come when I may ask another favour of your bishop and his chapter. When we contended for the Honorary Canonries (as they were miscalled), I did not think that I should turn my eyes to those offices as a resting-place for weary and crippled colonial bishops, when necessity, not will, should oblige them to retire from their work. I could crawl up your pulpit-stairs long after I had lost my strength to breast a New Zealand hill, or plunge through a swamp, or dance over the waves, as now, in the lively little *Undine*. A definite and recognised connexion with a cathedral during old age, and a cloister grave, would be the only change that I should desire from my present life, and that only when I am worn out.

You will think that I am a strange person, to write a letter of congratulation, and to postpone so long the main subject.

But such events are parts of the one mystery of the "union betwixt Christ and his Church," or if not, they are no proper subjects of congratulation. And because I feel that your marriage with my sister has been contracted in this spirit, I have looked upon it rather in its outer range of Catholic love, than in its more private character of domestic affection. And yet I know that this will not be wanting; for I know my sister's depth and warmth of feeling; and her letters already show how much of her fulness of affection has been transferred to you, yet without being taken from us. We are sure that she will love us all the more for having her whole heart and all its powers called forth into action. Above all the growth of piety, which must follow a marriage so contracted, will ensure us a full compensation for the more undivided love which we have enjoyed hitherto. Most heartily then do I congratulate you, and pray that every blessing may attend you till your symbolical marriage has its completion in the communion of saints.

Your affectionate brother,

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

As you are now my mathematical tutor, I send you the results of my "day's work."

1. Forenoon, March 30.

Cross bearings. Cape Maria	E. and by N.
March 30, 8h. Three Kings	N. W. by W.
Longitude by cross bearings	172.28 W.
Latitude by „ „	34.26 S.
Longitude by chronometer at 8 A.M.	172.38

N.B.—Rolling sea and altitudes uncertain.

2. Noon.

Latitude by Obsn. Meridn. Alt.	34.26.30.

N.B.—A northerly current had more than neutralized a light wind with which we sailed to the south. No ground gained between 8 and 12; North Cape still open on Cape Maria.

3. Longitude by Lunar distance, taken at 9 A.M.

	Day.	*h. m. s.*
Time by Lunar	29	9 53 39
„ Chronometer	29	9 55 32

4. Cross bearings at 3 P.M.

Great King	N.W. by N.
Cape Maria	E.N.E.
By cross bearings Long.	172.19.0
„ „ Lat	34.31·0

Afternoon sights for time—

Longitude by observation at 3 P.M.	171.15.30

The discrepancies in the above will show the degree of dependence on observations in a small vessel of twenty tons in a rolling swell."

It will be remembered that the statutes of Ely Cathedral had been quoted by the bishop when he addressed his printed letter on Cathedrals to Mr. Gladstone in 1838, and he seems ever to have been much attracted to that magnificent cathedral. Five months later, in a letter to his father, he wrote his congratulations on his prospect of often worshipping within its walls:—

"I can picture to myself, from intimate knowledge of Ely, your joy and comfort in passing many hours in prayer and praise within the 'beautiful gates' of that temple, in which your sons and daughters are so often gathered together. I have visited Ely in almost all ways: I have walked and skated and rowed, and driven and rode thither: flying and swimming are the only known modes of locomotion of which I have not availed myself to enjoy the architectural beauties of Ely Cathedral, at a time when I was unworthy of its daily prayers and unmoved by its songs of praise. If I were ever to return to England, what a blessing it would be to meet you all in that House of God, where, with matured feelings and thoughts full of immortality, 'the father to the children' and the children to the father, might 'make known His truth.'"

This voyage, to the leisure of which the foregoing letters owed their existence, was the first made in the *Undine*—the little craft destined to carry her precious freight on errands of mercy over thousands of miles of water; though not concerned with unknown seas and strange races, it was fraught with more danger and tended to more immediately useful ends than the cruise made in the *Dido*. It reached to the southern part of New Zealand, which is now in the Diocese of Dunedin, and included a visitation of the Chatham Islands. The bishop visited Kororareka, the scene of the Heke rising, and found the chapel, which had been

spared, still standing, and the obnoxious flagstaff not replaced. Wars and rumours of native disturbances were flying about like scattered fragments of cloud when the storm itself had ceased, but the bishop thought he discovered a far better and healthier feeling between the two races than at any previous time. At first an injudicious mixture of philanthropy and curiosity had petted and pauperized the natives, and when it was found that to civilize a race was a work of time and patience, curiosity was satisfied and philanthropy disheartened, and contempt and insult took their place, until the natives were wont to say that, except by the Government officials and by the missionaries, and a few others, they were treated like pigs and slaves. It was largely owing to the missionaries that peace had been preserved, and the power which they had exercised had not made them popular with those who wanted war. The bishop used to say long afterwards that he well remembered how he used to be greeted by his fellow-countrymen with "Here comes the bishop, to prevent us fighting with the natives."

"That I have counselled peace," he wrote, "is no more than saying that I am a minister of the Gospel; and this I freely confess to have done, at a time when a general gathering of the tribes could have destroyed the colony, and when it needed no more than that we should be silent to agitate the native people from one end of New Zealand to the other. Often has the question been asked of us, 'What is the Queen going to do? Does she wish to take away our lands?' and we have steadily—and in places unvisited by Governors or officers of Government—avouched the good faith of England, and recited the authoritative declarations of successive Secretaries of State, affirming again and again the validity of the Treaty of Waitangi. If we had held our peace, without a word spoken, we should have confirmed all the worst suspicions of the native people. We spoke the truth, and the result has been peace; for those who have rebelled are not one in thirty of the whole male population; and upon this ground

we fearlessly assert, that only those who gainsay that truth and tamper with the faith of treaties, will be the future agitators of New Zealand."

At Otaki, "a green spot in the midst of a crop which seemed to be withering away because it had no root or deepness of earth," the bishop saw much to cheer him; and from thence the good people, many of whom had been in his native school and college of St. John's, Auckland, accompanied him in a search over their land for the best site for a college, which was fixed at Porirua, near the main road to Wellington, some ten miles distant. At Wellington the bishop found Mr. Hadfield still alive, but "with the symptoms of his disease showing no improvement. But," he wrote, "it was a great blessing to hear that I might again enjoy the benefit of his counsel, and listen to the wisdom of a Christian death-bed. For four years his whole life has been nothing more than *commentatio mortis*." From Wellington, the course lay to the Chatham Islands, and, after attending the Governor's levee on the Queen's birthday, a ceremony which he had never witnessed since his landing in New Zealand, the bishop embarked on board the *Undine*, and ran rapidly out of Port Nicholson. For the first time the *Undine* had to go out of sight of land, and it was necessary to rely on his pocket chronometer, and strict reckoning by log and observation was kept. The bishop was his own sailing-master, and this is the entry in his log:—

"On Saturday evening, May 27, we had run down our distance, and the wind being strong, and the weather thick and stormy, we shortened sail and lay-to for the night. The next morning the Sisters, or Itutahi rocks, to the north of the great Chatham Island, appeared in sight, and the shore of the large island was dimly seen through the haze. At this time the sea was very high and the wind boisterous; and, not daring to run for the harbour, we stood out to sea and again lay-to. In the afternoon a great American whaler passed us, running to the north-west, and con-

descended to show us her colours, though we must have looked like a mere fishing-boat in the heavy sea which was then running. Towards evening the gale abated, and we enjoyed our afternoon prayers, with the Thanksgiving from the Prayers to be used at Sea. We all felt very thankful that we had kept a good reckoning, for if we had not lain-to when we did, we should have been close upon the Sisters in the middle of the night."

The longest stretch of open sea had yet to be crossed, and the season was late; but the bishop was anxious to reach Otago: although the colony was avowedly Presbyterian, he wished to be of service to new settlers by giving them particulars of local information and to explain to them the relations of the white to the native race, and to encourage feelings of confidence and esteem. The *Undine* ran before a gale, and on the fifth day glimpses of sun through the thick mist enabled observations to be taken, and on the next day the bishop found the value of his sketches and notes made on board the little *Perseverance* in 1844, for he recognised the places at once, and had no difficulty in making the harbour.

H.M.S. *Fly* was in these waters, having on board a Government agent with instructions to buy all the land in the Middle Island not included in former purchases. The tribe which had assembled to receive the purchase-money had not dispersed, and the bishop was able to converse with them, and he found them perfectly satisfied with 2,000*l.*, for which they had given plains, mountains, rivers, &c., as far as Foveaux Straits, trusting to the good faith of the Government to make suitable reserves for their use. The Bishop wrote:—

"This is a curious commentary upon the opinions first expressed by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1845, and since avowed by Earl Grey; and will tend to put an end to all further discussion on the rights of the New Zealanders, when it is seen that lands which would have cost millions to take and to keep by force, are quietly

ceded for less than a farthing an acre. But it is a great point, after all that has been said, that the right of the native owners, even to unoccupied lands, has been thus recognised over so wide a surface."

On July 4 the eventful voyage terminated, "and the good little *Undine* worked up to her anchorage, after a voyage of fourteen weeks, with sails, ropes, and spars uninjured, having sailed 3,000 miles, and visited thirteen places; thus fulfilling the wish with which the good Archbishop, now gone to his rest, accompanied a donation of 50*l.* towards her purchase,—'that the new vessel for the Bishop of New Zealand might prove as πειθήνιος as the *Flying Fish*.' By the good providence of God we were so blessed, that no illness occurred either among the passengers or the crew during the whole voyage. My party of native boys, eleven in number, collected from Otaki, Croixille's Harbour, Waikanae, and the Chatham Islands, arrived at the college full of health and good spirits, after sailing from 1,500 to 2,000 miles from their homes."

While the remote parts of the diocese were thus receiving the bishop's personal care, the institutions at Auckland, which he described as "my residence, if residence it can be called where I am seldom able to be stationary for more than a few months at a time," were in thorough working order. The native villages near to the college supplied the residents with friends and neighbours in whom they took increasing interest, and from whom they would have been loth to be separated; it seemed likely that the tribe would scarcely outlive the present generation, for the death-rate was high and the number of children miserably small; yet it was a comfort, the bishop said, "to be able to minister even to a dying people, and to be able to certify that they have passed away by the will of God." A large number of pensioners being placed by the Government in villages round Auckland, supplied a considerable English population who also demanded the bishop's care.

Following, as was his wont, the examples of ancient times, and endeavouring to realize the obligations of cathedrals, the bishop established seven Chapelries at distances varying from half a mile to five miles from the college, which were served by the deacons. The college, library and school, printing-house, and native school, each had its place. No difficulty was found in obtaining as many native lads as could be received; neither did any difficulty hinder the work of civilizing them except an inadequate supply of suitable English teachers.

"We are apt to forget," the bishop wrote, "the laborious processes by which we acquired in early life the routine duties of cleanliness, order, method, and punctuality; and we often expect to find ready made in a native people, the qualities which we ourselves have learned with difficulty, and which our own countrymen rapidly lose in the unsettled and irresponsible slovenliness of colonial life. We want a large supply of Oberlins and Felix Neffs, who, having no sense of their own dignity, will think nothing below it; and who will go into the lowest and darkest corner of the native character, to see where the difficulty lies which keeps them back from being assimilated to ourselves. They have received the Gospel freely, and with an unquestioning faith: but the unfavourable tendency of native habits is every day dragging back many into the state of sin from which they seemed to have escaped. There is scarcely anything so small as not to affect the permanence of Christianity in this country. We require men who will number every hair of a native's head, as part of the work of Him who made and redeemed the world."

The printing-house [work in which and in the hospital ranked next in dignity to the work of the clergy,] the farm, the barn, and the carpenter's shop, all were intended to catch the earliest dispositions to industry which the scholars might evince. The variety was necessary, for systematic industry in some one line was an essential of all native training. The system was not understood even

in New Zealand, and in New South Wales it was ridiculed; but the bishop was right notwithstanding. His self-defence was ample. He said:—

"It is not likely that men like Mr. Cotton and myself, brought up at the most aristocratic school in England, in the midst of amusement, luxury, and idleness, should have *theorized* a system which reduced us to a style and habits of life altogether different from those to which we have been accustomed; but the complicated problem of the foundation of the Church in New Zealand seemed to find no other solution than that to which we have been led by the guidance, first of Scripture, and then of Church history and of practical observation. We found a native people, whose bane was desultory work interrupted by total idleness. With them the belief was fast gaining ground, that work was incompatible with the character of a gentleman. To waste their occasional earnings, the price of their lands, on useless horses or cast-off dress coats, seemed to be the sum of their political economy. To appear in full dress at the morning service, and then to relapse into the more congenial *deshabille* of a blanket, was the form in which their respect was shown to the Sunday. Their houses still continued to be the herding-place of men, women, and children; where the young at one time heard sacred words, which lost their reverence, and even their meaning, from constant repetition; and, at another, were fed with all the ribaldry and scandal of the district, by the most minute and circumstantial details of other men's sins, which were publicly discussed in the common dwelling-houses. The faith of hundreds and thousands I believe to be sincere; but it is held in conjunction with habits dangerous to the stability of the adults, and destructive to the religion of the children. At the Waimate it was evident, at a glance, that the middle-aged men attended our churches and schools, but that the youths were in training for the service of Heke and Hawiti.

"Nor were there wanting indications, which seemed to show that the rising generations of the English would sink to the same level of indolence and vice with the native youth. The presence of a race presumed to be

inferior to our own, will naturally lead our English boys to the same false pride and assumption of superiority which the free native is taught by his own authority over his slaves. We are in danger of having honest labour made disreputable, by the class of servile natives who cluster round the towns, too often in a progressive state of demoralization. This, then, was the difficult problem: To raise the character of both races, by humbling them; to hinder, so far as positive institutions may avail, the growth of that shabby, mean, and worthless race of upstart gentlemen, who are ashamed to dig but not to beg, whose need never excites them to industry, and whose pride never teaches them self-respect. Such a class is a nuisance at home, but it would be intolerable in a new country."

While the bishop was thus caring for the most remote settlers in his diocese and for the heathen scattered amid the islands of the Pacific, he was winning notoriety, if not fame, at home. Lord Grey, who had succeeded Lord Stanley as Colonial Secretary, had been induced, under circumstances which it is not necessary for the purposes of this memoir to record, to send out a Despatch to which allusion has already been made respecting the lands possessed by the natives. Against this document the bishop and the missionaries, as well as the Chief Justice, felt bound to protest, and the action of the bishop on this occasion won for him the honour of being described by Mr. Hume in his place in Parliament as "a turbulent priest."

How much the bishop was disturbed by Mr. Hume's wrath, or by the censures of Lord Grey, and how far he was deserving of either, may be gathered from the letter which at this time he addressed to the Rev. E. Coleridge:—

St. John's College, Auckland,
Sept. 4th, 1848.

My very dear Friend,

I think that our correspondence of late has not been so brisk as usual, but you know my feeling on this point, that I should be very sorry to suppose for a moment

that such love as yours, and such gratitude as mine, needs the continual expression of some outward sign or form of words. The power of corresponding must depend upon leisure, health, and opportunity; and when I think that it is a long time since I received a letter from you, I always attribute your silence to the pressure of those benevolent designs which are every day increasing upon you. The fact that I am now the eighth on a list of twenty-one colonial bishops is enough to convince me that I should have my share, if you were to bestow upon me only one letter in the year. I know that you will not withhold from me your prayers, and that is enough.

It has become our turn to think anxiously of you, with all Europe shaken to its foundations, while we are enjoying the most profound repose from everything but the winds of our mild winter. The famine, the influenza, and now the civil commotions, especially in Ireland, have made us think much of you; and we now wait for every mail with increased anxiety. But God is with you, as He has been with us, and will bring us through greater troubles even than these.

When I tell you that we are in a state of repose, you will conclude that none of those evil consequences which were anticipated from the turbulence of "agitating bishops" have come to pass. If, on the contrary, Lord Grey's principle had been avowed by the Governor as the rule of his policy, the safety of the English settlements could not have been guaranteed for a day. It has not escaped my notice that some of my best friends have looked with a doubtful eye upon my conduct in the matter of the Protest. My brother William notices the matter thus: "I am not in a position to judge of the merits of the question;" and this is all that I have ever heard from my own family. Now I can assure you, that so far from that Protest being the result of any sudden excitement, it was written after repeated conferences with the Governor and in constant communication with the Chief Justice, and it was ultimately sent to his Excellency, after consent previously obtained; and after an assurance that he himself would be equally unable to hold any office under a Government which should direct him to carry those principles into effect. The only difference between Governor Grey on

the one hand, and Mr. Martin and myself on the other, has been this, that the Governor thought that the Instructions were only a satisfaction to Lord Grey's theoretical opinions, to which he was pledged, and that he neither would nor could carry them into practice in New Zealand; we, on the contrary, affirmed that the abstract injustice of the principle was in itself an evil to be protested against; and that in its practical consequences upon future measures of Government, not only in New Zealand, but in any other lands in these seas which may hereafter be colonized, it was most dangerous to suffer such a principle to gain validity by tacit consent. We looked in vain in the English newspapers for any condemnation of a doctine which we believe to be so essentially false, and so dangerous to New Zealand in particular. If the matter had been well taken up in England, *nos homunculi* would not have been indignant.

I have writen an answer to Lord Grey's reprimand, which I hope you will think temperate and respectful. The chief point which I have thought it necessary to mention is the letter which the Governor sent with the Protest; or rather the two letters between which it stands in the Blue Book, placed apparently like two tame elephants to keep the "turbulent" savage in order.

The tone of those letters certainly tended to make the Protest appear frivolous and unnecessary; and therefore I have been obliged to make one or two struggles to get out of the mud into which I seemed to be let down. You will not suppose that we have ever been in any other position than that of uninterrupted friendship, and our wives are as loving as sisters. But between governors with their short tenure of office, and bishops with their rustication for life, there will naturally be the same difference as between the *quinquennes oleæ* and the *sylvestria corna;* the one may be smooth and courtly, the other must contract, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, some of the nature of the Bush. I have sent a copy of my answer to Gladstone, from whom you will be able to procure it, if there should be any interest alive on the subject when my letter reaches England. We consider the danger at an end for the present, as our good friends in the House have spoken out so decisively.

This letter was soon followed by another to the same correspondent, which shows still more clearly what was the bishop's standpoint, and on how true and just foundations his action was based.

St. John's College, New Zealand,
Oct. 7th, 1848.

My dear Friend,

I send a short letter by the *Indian* now about to sail, lest you should think that I omit opportunities of writing to tell you of our welfare, and to acknowledge the unwearied kindness of which every mail and every ship brings new proof. We have received a box of books by the *Acheron* or *Havannah*, I cannot say which, as neither ship has yet arrived in New Zealand. The box was forwarded from Sydney. For this and for your exertions in the matter of the "Protest," and the correspondence with Mr. Hornby, accept my warmest thanks. . . . .

There is now a new subject of discussion, viz., the pamphlet printed at the College press, and not denied to be the work of Chief Justice Martin. The turn for a reprimand has now come round to him; because five copies of the book have been given by *me* without the judge's knowledge or consent, to the following persons: Major Richmond, Mr. Justice Chapman, Mr. Hadfield, Rev. G. A. Kissling, and, at Mr. Martin's desire, hearing of the above issue, to Governor Grey. A few copies were sent to England to our friends; the rest are safe in brown paper in my study.

The circumstances are these:—

1. Alarm began the first year of our arrival in New Zealand, by hearing the talk of settlers and the suspicions of natives.

2. Alarm grew to a practical evil when the Report of the House of Commons of July 8th, 1844 came out to New Zealand, in which the principle of spoliation is avowed; and by the counter-resolutions of Mr. Cardwell, I infer that it was advised to carry out that principle if necessary by an armed force, though this may not be distinctly avowed in the Report. The publication of this report in New Zealand was followed immediately, in March, 1845, by the destruction of Kororareka. Lord

Howick, Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Hawes, Under-Secretary, were members of the Committee which presented the Report.

3. Exactly three years after the Report of the House of Commons, viz., in July, 1847, we were greatly alarmed by an authoritative avowal by the Colonial office, of the same principles as those put forth in the above Report, to which Lord Grey and Mr. Hawes were parties.

4. With Mr. Martin's concurrence I waited upon his Excellency, Governor Grey, to offer our joint assistance, as persons acquainted with the native language and character, in support of any declaration which he might be pleased to make on the injustice and inexpedience of the principle in question. The Governor agreed with us on the principle, but was satisfied with the belief that Lord Grey had not instructed him to carry it into execution.

5. We felt that the wrong was done in the assertion of the principle, and that we should be parties to the wrong if we suffered the assertion to pass without remark. The Governor having declined to call upon us to avow our opinions, we were obliged to express our own opinions independently of him.

Lord Grey has forwarded to me a very complimentary message through the Governor, for which I am much obliged to his lordship, and value his good opinion, as that of a son of an honourable house, who has not impaired in his own person his ancestral character. But I would rather that he cut me in pieces than induced me by any personal compliments to resign the New Zealanders to the tender mercies of men who avow the right to take the land of the New Zealanders, and who would not scruple to use force for that purpose. There is a Cerberus in New Zealand which cannot be sopped by any other cake than one composed of English and native rights in equal proportions.

The *Dido* we hear has been ordered to England, and I have thoughts of availing myself of Captain Maxwell's kindness to entrust our dear little William to his charge. My acquaintance with the chaplain, Mr. Browne, and the other officers of the ship, with whom I am on friendly terms, all favour the plan. I shall hope to hear of your

favourable report, to make me stalk with long strides in joy of heart over my wastes of fern.

Pray give my love to Mary and your children, and all the co-operatives. I have not much time to write by this ship, but will endeavour to send more letters by the *Dido*. No one knows with what a multiplicity of A B C matters my mind is continually filled, to the great injury of regularity in correspondence. With scarcely a person who knows the details of his own business, and with incessant complaints of parents of the inefficiency of our schools, and now with the additional charge of four pensioners' villages thrown upon our collegiate body, and all with a straitened finance (from the high prices caused by Government expenditure), which makes me look upon every blade of grass with a scrutinizing eye, my excellent friends, to whom I am so deeply indebted, and among the rest the S.P.G.F.P. must excuse me if my heart is not so lightsome or my pen so free as they may desire.

God bless you, and prosper all your works for His glory.

Your affectionate and grateful friend,

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

The prospects of Melanesia were now becoming more defined: at the end of this year, in which so much important work had been done, the bishop was enabled to point cheerfully to what had been done, and to clearly marked opportunities for fresh ventures among the heathen. He wrote a friend in England:—

My visit to the Isle of Pines, though of a few hours' duration, has left upon my mind the deep conviction, that an effort made there would not be in vain; and that the spiritual conquest of that little island would open the way to New Caledonia and its adjacent islands of the Loyalty group. This is the point upon which the missionary energies of the New Zealand Church ought to be bestowed, as a sign of its own vitality, in giving to others freely what it has freely received. The most frightful crimes of rapine and massacre are now being committed by the very people who received Captain Cook, seventy years ago, with a friendly disposition beyond that even of the people of the "Friendly Islands." The change must be attributed to

the fact that we have followed up our first knowledge of New Caledonia with the most sordid and unscrupulous schemes of avarice, instead of sending out men with the heart of Cook, and with the powers and graces of the ministerial calling. You will not be surprised if you hear of my visiting those islands again, for something must be done, and I am waiting only for some door to be opened by which God may show His willingness that the work should be begun. If only I had competent men to help me, I feel as if I might be strengthened to search out the choicest youth among all the neighbouring islands, and bring them into our college; and with this centre once formed, the work of grace might spread to all "the regions beyond."

The habits formed in these vast dioceses tend to set aside all thoughts of time and distance. The young men of the college, before my last voyage in the *Dido*, begged me to accept their assurance, that if I should discover any opening where their services might be more required than in New Zealand, they held themselves in readiness to answer to the call.

In October, the bishop was again afloat in the *Undine*, and from Mahurangi he wrote to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins on many matters. He was about to part with his eldest son, for whom he desired no brighter lot than that of a missionary in Melanesia.

Oct. 26th, 1848.

I am closing this letter on board the *Undine*, now lying in the little harbour of Mahurangi, and waiting for a storm to pass away, that we may go to spend the Sunday at the copper mine (already mentioned) on the Island of Kawau. Captain Maxwell, of H.M.S. *Dido*, is with me on board, and will be the bearer, I hope, of this letter, and the protector of our eldest boy, William, whom I commend to the prayers and counsel of all who love his father. I know that he will never lack friends to encourage him in every holy disposition, or to reprove him when he goes astray; and in this confidence, and, above all, in reliance on his Heavenly Father, I consign him to God, to the Church of England, and to my friends. If our lives should

be spared, I can form no better wish for him, than that he should be approved by your Society, and sent out as a missionary to this diocese. By that time, it may have pleased God to widen our field of labour, vast though it be already, and to multiply the labourers in a like proportion.

The pious desire has been fulfilled, if not literally, yet substantially: little did the Bishop think in 1848 that ere his own services on earth were completed he would have given his younger son to the widened field of labour in the Pacific as the second Bishop of Melanesia.

CHAPTER IX.

[1849.]

The month of January is in New Zealand the busiest time of harvest; and in the bishop's diary for 1849 there are sundry records of harvest work, and of interruptions to the ingathering of the crops caused by weather. The college being largely dependent on the produce of its lands, as well as boasting itself of its self-contained system by which servants were abolished and all contributed their labour to the common stock, it was obvious that teachers and students would now be engaged in clearing the fields. But this accomplished, on the Feast of the Purification the *Undine* was again put in commission, and her head was turned southward. Before embarking on this Visitation the bishop learned with thankfulness that Mr. Hadfield, after four years of suffering, was recovering, and he had reason to hope that he would again be equal to missionary work. For the headship of Trinity College about to be established at Porirua, no one so competent could be found, and the bishop sought to secure his services in the following letter:—

To Rev. O. Hadfield.

St. John's College, *Jan. 27th*, 1849.

My dear Friend,

I desire to thank God most fervently for the report which Dr. Fitzgerald makes of the prospect of your restoration to health. In the midst of sorrows which have crowded upon my mind from the illness of Mr.

Cotton, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Stock, and the deaths of Mr. Bolland and Mr. Reay, this mercy has given me the greatest consolation. Still it would be too much to expect that you should be able to resume the active habits of a missionary for which your strength was never adequate; but I think that I know your mind sufficiently to feel assured that you will dedicate your returning health to such employment as is nearest to the missionary work. I would point to the Porirua College as a post in which your influence would be brought to bear on all those in whom you are most interested, without much bodily fatigue.

If you will consent to find head and heart for the new college, I will do my best to provide you with arms and legs.

The report of your returning health further encourages me to fulfil the long-cherished wish of appointing you to the Archdeaconry of Kapiti, which has been kept vacant in the hope, however faint, that you might be able to fill the office. I inclose the letter of appointment, which I beg you to accept for my sake, and much more for the good of the Church. You have already acted as my commissary and adviser on all occasions, and this will only give a formal and legal sanction to the duties which you have already discharged.

Your excellent host and hostess must be truly rejoiced at the sight of your returning health and strength. I hope to share in your happiness, God willing, in about two months, if my present voyage to the south be brought to a safe conclusion.

With sincere thankfulness for your improvement in health,

I remain,

My dear Mr. Hadfield,

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,

G. A. N. ZEALAND.

I commend to your advice and instruction, Rev. T. B. Hutton, appointed to act as Resident Deacon and Inspector of Schools at Wellington. Pray tell him all that you have written and said to me on the subject of schools.

The Chatham Islands, Wellington and Nelson, were again visited between February 2 and April 21, and later

in the year the bishop contemplated an independent voyage in the *Undine*, and not as in the previous year in H.M.S. *Dido*, to the Melanesian groups. The colonists disliked the idea of the bishop spending so much time at sea and at a distance from his diocese proper: although Bishop Selwyn had no opportunity of benefiting the trade of the place which he made his home by dispensing a large income, there was the same jealous contention for the honour of a bishop resident among them which has been found in towns in England, covetous of the distinction of being raised to the dignity of a city by giving a title to newly-founded Sees. There was also lingering still in the colonial mind the memory of the reproof which the bishop had fearlessly administered, when he saw the greed of land embroiling the whole country: and so the popularity, which he never coveted, did not fall to his share, and people did not hesitate freely to criticize his doings, whatever they were. The kindlier folks thought he was 'fond of yachting,' and accepted the condition of things, little knowing the discomforts of a 17-ton schooner with a dozen or so of native lads crowding the cabin, and with a crew of only four hands, neither considering the perils of navigation in unknown waters and among people reputed to be savage and bloodthirsty, and with not a single defensive weapon of any kind on board.

During these first ten years of his episcopate he was most unpopular in Wellington, though later on there was no place where he was more highly esteemed. Landing late in the evening in a little dinghey, he heard two men on the beach talking about his schooner, and one of them asked, "What's that schooner that has come in this evening?" to which the other replied, "Oh, that old fool the bishop's." Just then the dinghey grounded on the shore, and, rubbing his hands and chuckling, he jumped out of the boat saying, "Yes, and here's the old fool himself."

On another occasion of his putting in to Wellington harbour, he was amused to learn that a Dissenter had

recently exhumed and reprinted an old tract which had had a run in England, whose title was "Why I am a Dissenter." One of the reasons given was "Because Bishops have 10,000*l.* a year, and go about in carriages, whereas the Apostles went on foot, and had neither silver nor gold." The time of publication was ill-chosen: for side by side with the little *Undine*, the *John Wesley*, on her duty of carrying the Wesleyan Superintendent round his much smaller circuit, dropped her anchor, a well-found schooner of 200 tons. The retort was tempting and obvious, if not *ad rem*; and a zealous Churchman published a leaflet with the title "Why I am not a Dissenter"—the chief reason assigned being "Because the Wesleyan Superintendent sails in a schooner of 200 tons, while the Bishop of New Zealand goes much longer voyages in a yacht of 20 tons."

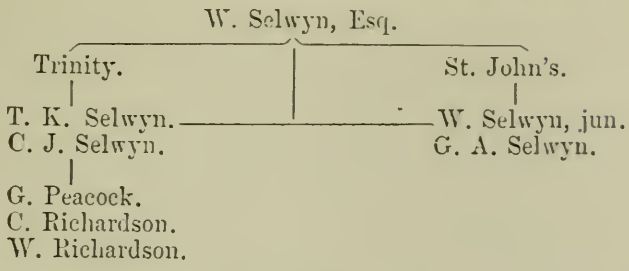
From Auckland several letters were written. For the new institution at Porirua he sought to obtain from his brother-in-law the Dean of Ely the sympathy and support which it seems to be the duty of ancient Foundations to extend to struggling efforts in a new world: this was a case of unusual claims, the college-lands being the offering of natives for the benefit of both races.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, *July 12th*, 1849.

May I solicit your good offices in favour of a new institution, which we are beginning to found, called Trinity College, Porirua: to be the centre of education for the southern division of this island?

My native scholars, formerly at this college, have made over 600 acres of their own land, with consent of the other owners, for the purpose, as they express it, "of a College for the native and English youth, that they may be united together as one people, in the new principle of faith in Christ and obedience to the Queen."

The reason for the name of Trinity College is because our family were equally divided between Trinity and St. John's, *e.g.*:—



The addition of your name and of my wife's two brothers gives a preponderating claim to Trinity, of which I hope all brothers and brothers-in-law will show their sense by their vigorous exertions to place Trinity before St. John's, though second, as at Cambridge, in order of time.

I will send you further particulars when the plans are more matured; but the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Mr. Hawkins, has all the details of the proposal, and would be happy to receive the assistance of all who would be willing to take an interest in the plan.

Sarah and I hope to go to Porirua to spend the summer, and to break ground. In about a fortnight I hope to sail for New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines; and to bring back with me some swarthy youths for education at our Polynesian College. Perhaps I may be able to send you some contributions to your ethnographical stock; for I find that your learned men are still indebted to Cook's scanty vocabulary of the New Caledonia language.

We are in want of such mathematical books as are sufficient for a common degree at Cambridge. We do not aspire higher at present. Perhaps you could tell me which are the best and simplest πολλ books now in use, and direct them to be sent out in sets of twenty.

I send a copy of our Almanac, in hopes of eliciting from you some scraps of European science by means of which we may shine in borrowed plumes "*pavone ex Pythagoreo.*"

The calculation of eclipses frightens me by the terribly long formula in the Nautical Almanac. I have not yet attained to accuracy in the rising and setting of the moon; the error I suppose lying in some misapplication of the horizontal parallax. If Fanny would use her scissors in extracting the most useful statistical and other informa-

tion, at much less length than the British Almanac, but in the same style, and send them out pasted in a paper book, it would tend much to invest our Annual with a value not its own. By this organ I convey a knowledge of the Church system into all parts of the diocese, and therefore I am most anxious that it should be generally useful and popular.

I have found it most useful to have recognised πρόξενοι for different parts of the works in this country, to represent me in England, in that behalf. If you would allow me to consider you as an honorary πρόξενος or agent of Trinity College, Porirua, as a centre and nucleus of information and interest on that subject, it would very much tend to promote the success of the undertaking. We do not intend to go on fast, but to make some progress if possible every year."

Friends both in New Zealand and in England were doubtful about the wisdom or the possibility of the work which the bishop was proposing for himself in Melanesia. It was essentially a work of unwearying patience. Year after year he contemplated no immediate result of his landing, unarmed and alone, on the shores of these islands, generally among menacing crowds of savages and cannibals, beyond the establishing a good understanding, the obtaining a recognition of himself and his ship as being distinct from other captains and vessels, and the acquisition of some of the multitude of dialects which were spoken. It is courage of the highest type which thus patiently grapples with a work whose details must be small, slow in development, and leading, even supposing the maximum of success to be attained, only to the loan of a few lads born and bred amid the defilements and cruelties of heathenism, on whom the influence of Christianity and civilization is to be brought to bear. The bishop had clearly arranged his plans, and was quite satisfied that only in this way could the work be done. He had faith enough to foresee a vision of groups of boys entrusted to his care at St. John's and Porirua, and these returning to

their homes as in some sort Missionaries, and again and again coming to the college for further training; some of these he foresaw would be sent back with the grace of Orders and the gifts of the Priesthood, to impress, with a force which no European could hope to possess, the consciences and hearts of their heathen brethren, and to build up the Church of Christ in their islands. It was an entirely original as well as a noble conception, and subsequent events have amply proved its wisdom.

On August 1st the *Undine* left her moorings for Anaiteum, a run of 1,000 miles being made in ten days, spite of heavy weather and cross winds. In the episcopal log on August 11th, is this entry—"1,000 miles in 10 days. To Him, whom the winds and the sea obey, be praise and glory for ever and ever, Amen." Here, as had been arranged, he met H.M.S. *Havannah*, whose captain (Erskine), in common with all who sailed with him, had a warm respect for the bishop. The obligation was not wholly on one side. The man-of-war was beholden to the tender (for the bishop spoke of Captain Erskine as his "commanding officer," and of the *Undine* as the tender to the *Havannah*), not merely for performing the duties of a pilot, and also to the character and courage of its "Bishop-Skipper" for free and safe intercourse with the people. In his first voyage among the Melanesian groups he had absolutely no charts, and subsequently, until his own drawings became available, he had only some very ancient Russian and Spanish charts.

From Anaiteum he addressed a letter of remonstrance to a friend in England, who had expressed both anxiety for his safety and doubt as to the wisdom of devoting to the Melanesian work the amount of time without which failure was certain: the letter showed how carefully and patiently his plans had been laid, and how anxious he was that they should not be misunderstood or misrepresented.

College Schooner "Undine," at Anchor,
Anaiteum, New Hebrides,
Lat. 20 S.; Long. 170 E.,
August 12*th*, 1849.

My dear Friend,

The first fruits of the new chronometer are justly due to you, to whom I am indebted for this, and for a large portion also of the *Undine*. May God enable me to make the only return which you desire by using them to His glory, and for the extension of His kingdom. In this peaceful harbour, unknown to the civilized world, at least to the hydrographers, I can commune with you in heart and in perfect rest, during a portion of the Lord's day, which I am now enjoying after a voyage of a thousand miles. . . .

In such a place, and under such circumstances, love would be born, if it did not exist; and existing, grows apace with that tropical luxuriance which is produced by warmth of the heart. There is something of truth, as well as of poetry in the idea of Virgil, that the hearts of the Carthaginians are not deadened by the being too far removed from the chariot of the sun. But while I thus recognise the effect of tropical heat upon warmth and kindliness of affection, I must acknowledge the greatness of that inward heat, independent of place and circumstances, which can produce in Lat. 51·30 N. such fruits of genuine friendship as I experience continually from you.

You will accept it I hope as an evidence of this gush of gratitude towards you which has come upon me to-day, that I tax your unwearied friendship for new efforts. There are not many persons whom I could ask to do anything more after all that you have done. But at the same time that you have supplied my present wants, you have always stimulated me to further demands; and that by the most powerful of all arguments, that it does good to the Church at home to have its diffusive duties so brought before its view. Here then is the substance of this day's meditations, conceived, I hope, in no presumptuous spirit, nor without prayer, but with the fullest confidence that they are all within the scope of our Christian obligation, and that therefore means and strength will be supplied for the work which it is our duty to undertake.

It has been the concurrent feeling of many wise and

pious men, and even of Gibbon, that New Zealand would become the Britain of the Southern hemisphere. Setting aside all other points of similarity involved in the prediction, I fix my thoughts steadily upon one, and pray for God's grace to make my diocese the great missionary centre of the Southern Ocean. The thought upon which I commented so feebly at Windsor on November 4, 1841, has grown irresistibly upon me, "the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee"; it seems as if God had marked out "my path upon the mountain wave, my home upon the deep." Few men are so entirely at their ease at sea, or so able to use every moment of time, perhaps more effectually because with less distraction than on shore. The effect of this is, that in a voyage of reasonable duration I can master the elements of a new language sufficiently to enter at once into communications, more or less, with the native people, and thus to secure a further progress every day by the removal of the first difficulty. Here then is the first step. I feel myself called upon by these natural advantages to carry the Gospel into every island which has not received it, and which, within wide limits, may be considered as affiliated in faith and hope to the New Zealand Church.

But do not suppose that I wish to devote myself to the life of a sea-bird, dropping here and there a seed, which the nearest land-bird may forthwith devour; but I look (still in faith and submission) to those "twins of learning," Trinity and St. John's, as the central reservoirs into which all my phials will be poured from the wells and springs of many nations. There I should hope to spend such portions of my time as I can allot to collegiate residence, in the midst of my scholars of "many tongues," who are all being conformed to the "one tongue of immortals." Here then is my second point. I need men of a right stamp to conduct the central organization of a system, which will require an entire devotion, in a spirit of the most single-minded love, of every faculty of body and mind, to duties apparently of the humblest kind, to the most petty and wearisome details of domestic life, and to the simplest rudiments of teaching; but all sanctified by the object in view, which is to take wild and naked savages from among every untamed and lawless people, and to

teach them to sit at the feet of Christ, "clothed and in their right mind." Religion, civilization, and sound learning; all, in short, that is needful for a man, seems to be meant by those three changes—the feet of Christ; the clothing; and the right mind.

I almost checked myself, while I was writing the above words, with something like a fear that you would think me visionary, and that I should lose your confidence by proposing too much. But I assure you I am not mad, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness. "*Reasonable service*," are words which have haunted me for years past. All that I have proposed is being done by emissaries of the world; except, of course, that part in which the world feels no interest, and can take no share. While I have been sleeping in my bed in New Zealand, these islands, the Isle of Pines, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, New Ireland, New Britain, New Guinea, the Loyalty Islands, the Kingsmills, &c. &c., have been riddled through and through by the whale fishers and traders of the South Sea. That odious black slug, the beche-la-mer, has been dragged out of its hole in every coral reef, to make black broth for Chinese mandarins, by the unconquerable daring of English traders, while I, like a worse black slug as I am, have left the world all its field of mischief to itself. The same daring men have robbed every one of these islands of its sandal-wood, to furnish incense for the idolatrous worship of the Chinese temples, before I have taught a single islander to offer up his sacrifice of prayer to the true and only God. Even a mere Sydney speculator could induce nearly a hundred men from some of the wildest islands in the Pacific to sail in his ships to Sydney to keep his flocks and herds, before I, to whom the Chief Shepherd has given commandment to seek out His sheep that are scattered over a thousand isles, have sought out or found so much as one of those which have strayed and are lost. Is this then enthusiasm, or is it "reasonable service?"

Nor is this without regard to New Zealand itself. May we not hope that as England has doubtless felt the reflex effect of its missionary efforts, so the decaying fire of missionary spirit may be rekindled in New Zealand, by its awakened interest in the island missions. I left the

Governor and Chief Justice and some of our senior Missionaries organizing a plan for this very purpose. The voyage of the *Undine* gave a point and impulse to their feelings. If it should please God to open a door for some good beginning during this present voyage, I do not doubt that I shall find liberal hearts and hands in New Zealand to assist in the commencement of the work. But I look to you for aid in the main design; not only, I mean, as regards the means, but also for helping others to understand, who are sometimes more ready to question than to assist.

"What is the bishop about?" "Setting up another college before he has established the first?" "Off again to the islands, when he is so much wanted at home." "I fear he has too many irons in the fire." These are some of the remarks which I am prepared to expect, but which I write now to deprecate. Not that I suspect you of any such ideas, but I wish you to be clearly informed that you may assist in stretching the minds of others.

All these things are parts of a connected work which I do not, of course, expect to live to complete, but which, I have no doubt, a succession of faithful bishops of New Zealand would be enabled by God's blessing to accomplish. Am I to presume upon a succession of sluggards, or lay out plans so poor and miserable as to involve the seeds of failure in their own original insufficiency? If a man finds but one talent given to him, we are taught to expect that he will think it useless and bury it in the ground. If God should enable me before my death to lay out the ground plan of a great design, and to leave it in a hopeful and progressive, though incomplete state, I should die in faith that succeeding bishops would not refuse to add each his course of stone to the rising edifice, in which, as in our cathedrals, all individual pride of foundership would be lost, and buried in the venerable line of spiritual architects.

You see then what I shall require. In the course of two or three years, if this work grows upon me, a larger vessel will be needed; not for comfort or safety, for the dear little *Undine*, under God's protection, has borne me safely over so many raging waves that it would be ungrateful to discard her for any personal consideration. But I could

not with any prudence or propriety crowd her with my scholars in these hot climates, as I do in the south, where for weeks together I have had a mess of sixteen in a space not so large as an Eton boy's smallest single room. But this is the very point and key of the whole system, the constant interchange of scholars between the college and their own homes. If I were to keep them away altogether, not only would the parents (very properly) send to take them away; but even while they remained at school, the great benefit to the parents, and the great impulse to the system, which is afforded by the sight of the progressive improvement of the youths, would be entirely lost. Again, to transplant scholars from the college too soon, would be to lose the best fruit of their training; for we gain little if we do not succeed in rearing native teachers and ministers, but scarcely any would stay from early youth to such an age as would qualify them for any responsible situations, without ever returning to their parents. We have youths who have been with us six years, in which time they have gone home frequently for the holidays and have returned again. To carry out a system of frequent intercourse with their own countrymen, which would be necessary and beneficial in every respect, would require a vessel of considerable size; that is, from 100 to 150 tons; whereas the little *Undine* is only 21, new measurement. But this is a matter of no immediate importance, as at present there are not funds for the current expenses of such a vessel, though the first cost might perhaps be supplied. At present I wish you to bear in mind, and to communicate with R. Palmer, Gladstone, and others, that, if it please God to prolong my present health and strength, I am prepared, if means be supplied, to undertake the personal inspection and supervision of the whole of Melanesia—that is, of all islands lying between the meridian of the East Cape of New Zealand or nearly 180 degrees, to the meridian of Cape York and the Eastern Coast of Australia; and I am convinced that I could do this, not only without injury, but with the greatest possible benefit to my own work in New Zealand.

You will observe, that I have said nothing about men, except the organizing staff for the two colleges; one reason

is, that these Northern Islands are very unhealthy, and it is likely that a great and unprofitable waste of human life would be caused by relying upon an English ministry. A native agency is the great thing needed; and the reason of my extreme caution in applying for men of peculiar qualifications is my belief that there is not one man in a thousand of generally good and pious clergymen, who has or can have the least idea of what would be required of him in the conduct of a native teachers' college. This I suppose to be the reason of the failures, or at least of the limited success, of such institutions as have been already formed in other heathen countries. I gather from the *Visitation Journal* of our dear brother of Colombo, that his experience in this respect coincides with mine.

Here ends my day's meditation, and as I have just consulted your chronometer, which ticks loudly in front of me, and find that by Greenwich time it is just eleven, that is, by local time, twenty minutes past ten, it is time for me to prepare for bed by remembering you, and all yours, and your works, in my evening prayer, which I trust, will go up to heaven with those, which you are now just offering up in the morning service of the Church. . . .

August 17*th*, 1849.

Still at Anaiteum; and not sorry to be in harbour, as the weather has been very thick and rainy, and therefore not favourable for encountering the reefs of New Caledonia. The time, however, is not lost, as this little place is the centre of information on all matters relating to the sandal-wood trade, which extends over all the neighbouring islands. By information which I have received since I have been here, I am led to hope that an opening into New Caledonia may be made at a place called Jengen, on the east coast, and about midway between Capes Colnet and Coronation. The French Mission formerly occupied a station at Balade, where Cook anchored in 1774; when he found the people to excel all other islanders whom he had seen in honesty and friendliness of disposition. To our shame be it confessed, that three-quarters of a century, during which they have been left to receive and inflict every kind of outrage, have so entirely altered their original character for the worse, that there are many places where I should not think

of risking the schooner or myself. But I assume it as an axiom, that where a trader will go for gain, there the missionary ought to go for the merchandise of souls. The issue of the undertaking I leave to Him who provides, far better than we ourselves, for the course of the future.

I have spent much time with the Protestant missionaries who have been placed here since my visit in the *Dido;* one of whom, a Presbyterian from Nova Scotia, I had seen before in the Navigator's Islands; the other, Mr. Powell, is connected with the London Mission. You are probably aware of the rule which I make in visiting missions connected with other bodies of Christians. I abstain from taking any part in their public services, but I endeavour to give them every encouragement and advice which my acquaintance with the mission work enables me to suggest. With the Wesleyan Missions I can go no further, as the popery of their system, in spreading the name of Wesley, and the authority of the Conference over their whole mission field, precludes all hope of communion, till the main body in England shall have changed its present opinion on the advantage of separation from the Church, which their founder loved and venerated to the day of his death. But the London Mission leaves the field open for the development of native churches, unconnected, as such, with any particular body in England, and to which they do not profess to prescribe any particular form of government. I therefore live in hope, that the time will come, when the work of the English missionaries, under God's blessing, will have raised up a native ministry in every group of islands, and that these ministers, meeting in conference or convocation, will adopt such a form of Church government as would at once enable the native and English Church of New Zealand to communicate with them. My visits then, if I should be allowed to see that day, would be that of a helper to their faith, and a partner of their joy. On the contrary, to inflict upon these simple islanders all the technical distinctions of English dissent, would be indeed to contradict that spirit of unity which is our only warrant for the hope of success in the mission field.

The only incidents which have occurred to break the

quiet of my sojourn here have been the capture of a small whale, and the excitement of the whole native population in cutting up the flesh, which fell to their share after the blubber had been removed. This enabled me to see an animated picture of the native character; which is still in as primitive a state, in respect of appearance and manners, as when Captain Cook first discovered these islands in this very month of August, 1774. The distribution of the whale naturally led to a native feast, of which the following is an idea.

In the foreground is a pile of taro, behind it a supply of sugar-cane, and in the corner near the house a heap of cocoa-nuts arranged as regularly as the cannon-balls in Woolwich arsenal. The feast had not begun while I stayed, but the preparations were made. The wide-spreading tree with the twisted stems is a banian-tree, of which there is generally one in all places in the South Seas where public meetings are held.

You may conceive with what interest I shall look upon the progress of the Gospel in these islands, where at present there is not so much as one single believer. In New Zealand the work had been carried on thirty years before I came into the country, and all the other stations which I have seen have been of, at least, ten or twelve years' standing. But from this point, to the north, south, and west, all is dark; and it will therefore be most delightful to watch the Sun of Righteousness rising from the east, and lighting up in succession every island to the westward, till the whole of this marvellous labyrinth, into which God has scattered the sons of Shem, be evangelized by the enlargement of Japhet. One sure ground of hope is the verification which we find here of the Scripture narrative, confirming of course also the truth of the promises of Scripture. Nothing but a special interposition of the Divine power could have produced such a confusion of tongues as we find here. In islands not larger than the Isle of Wight we find dialects so distinct, that the inhabitants of the various districts hold no communication one with another. Here have I been for a fortnight, working away, as I supposed, at the language of New Caledonia, by aid of a little translation of portions of Scripture made by a native teacher sent by the London

Mission from Rarotonga, and just when I have begun to see my way, and to be able to communicate a little with an Isle of Pines boy whom I found here, I learn that this is only a dialect used in the southern extremity of the island, and not understood in the part which I wish to attack first. This however will be no discouragement, as it would be very hard if so many learned men can devote so much of their time to ethnography, and to learning languages, which are useful to them only for general comparison and research, and yet that those to whom the commandment is given to preach the Gospel to every creature should shrink from the same work, as if the promise were of no value that Christ will be with us always, and that His Spirit will give us a mouth and wisdom, which all our adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist. But we shall need a Propaganda with regular professors, having the double duty of teaching new missionaries the languages of the stations for which they are designed, and of training the young natives who come to the college for instruction. What should you think of an Eton at the Antipodes, in which a different language was spoken at every master's house?

I have now closed up my letter, but I shall not seal it till the *John Williams* arrives, as we may sail some days in company; and thus I shall be able to fill up my journal to the last day of her final departure.

It was with a full consciousness of the perils which lay before him that the bishop had entered on this voyage: it was not his wont to talk about them, but he had made all provision both in regard to his private affairs and diocesan funds for the very possible contingency of his not returning.

One who loved him well and shared to the full the mingled feelings of hope and fear with which his friends saw him sail forth on these unknown perils, thus described the scene of his departure:—

"We have just parted with our bishop, and seen him go off on his lonely mission voyage. Our feelings have been strangely varied. We rejoice to see him enter on

such a work, and are thankful for these opening prospects; and yet saddening thoughts and human fears will mingle with high hopes: fears of perils by sea and of perils by the heathen—yea, even to that bitterest thought that we may see his face no more.

"All was ready at 6 P.M., but there was no breeze; so the boat was ordered back till the early morning tide, and we drew round the fire, thankful for a reprieve. The bishop read out of a large old-fashioned volume the account of Captain Cook's first visit to New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines. It was about the same time of year seventy years ago, so he got some account of the prevalent winds as Cook's ship ran from New Caledonia to New Zealand. We lingered till past midnight, unwilling to part, and then knelt down to receive his blessing.

"Some at home and here may talk of risks, and that the bishop has enough to do in his immediate diocese, and that it is better to build up what is planted, and the like. But it seems like a great instinct in our bishop's mind that he must dig foundations and hew stones, and heave them up single-handed; and they that come after him will do the polishing and ornamenting, and look with satisfaction on the symmetrical buildings of which he in care and sorrow laid the first stones. Not that he is unfitted for the fine work. Few better able than he to construct and build up. But then everybody likes the nice work. Nobody likes the rough beginnings which bring no present results and small glorification. How we have waited for the St. Bernards to join our Stephen of Citeaux. Perhaps it is not to be that we shall have men like-minded. Perhaps the very thing needful for *him* is to go with care on his lonely path sowing precious seed. But the harvest will come, and at the Resurrection morning he will have abundant joy.

"We would fain see him go in a larger vessel. But he is anxious about incurring any extra expense. A few tons difference brings more cost, sails, cordage, hands, &c. He has no fear, and has run so many voyages in his little schooner that it is difficult to say much. He and his wife are scrupulously careful in all their own expenses while so large-hearted and handed in everything for the public good."

The record of the cruise which Captain Erskine published in 1853[1] is full of admiring and independent testimony to the bishop's courage. The commander of a ship of war is liable to no antecedent suspicions of ultra-missionary tendencies, and it will be seen that the moral courage of the bishop prompted him to do things from which a naval officer shrunk and would have risked only at the call of duty; but then the bishop was always "on duty." Two or three extracts from Captain Erskine's pages must be given:—

"It must be admitted that the enterprise undertaken by the bishop, who would not permit an arm of any description on board his vessel, was one of no little risk; and when informed by him that he had permitted many of the Erromangans, whose hostility to white men is notorious, to come on board in Dillon's Bay, I was ready to allow that it required the perfect presence of mind and dignified bearing of Bishop Selwyn, which seemed never to fail in impressing these savages with a feeling of his superiority, to render such an act one of safety and prudence.

"*Sunday, September 2nd.*—A canoe with several men ventured on board the *Undine* in the morning, but did not as yet dare approach the large ship. The bishop preached on board the *Havannah* to a very attentive congregation, and after service I took him in one of our cutters to the shore, to open a communication with the people, several of whom were seen on a rocky eminence overlooking a small cove. They seemed to be pleased at our landing, but were evidently in a great fright, and it was not without much coaxing that three of them were persuaded to enter the boat. A red worsted comforter given to him who appeared the boldest of the party excited their cupidity, but did not allay their fears, as they repeatedly asked if they might return when they pleased, and were more than once on the point of jumping overboard to swim back to the shore, as we rowed off to the ship. The principal personage of the three, who were all young men, sat in the stern-sheets, laughing and trembling

[1] *A Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific in H.M.S. "Havannah,"* by John Elphinstone Erskine, Capt. R.N. London: John Murray, 1853.

by turns, now and then patting the bishop or myself on the back and calling us "Alihi Asori" (great chiefs), which he explained was also his own rank, one of his comrades being merely an "Alihi," and the third no chief at all. Arrived alongside, their fears returned, and they would not venture on board, until the bishop, to overcome their hesitation, stepped into a canoe containing three or four other men, which had followed our boat, when they cautiously mounted the side."

The object of the voyage was satisfactorily attained, for the bishop was able to take away with him to New Zealand five lads from the islands of New Caledonia, Lifu and Mare, and the two ships parted company, Captain Erskine recording—

"At 5 P.M. we weighed, and ran out of the roads, admiring, as we passed and waved our adieu to the *Undine*, the commanding figure of the truly gallant Bishop of New Zealand as, steering his own little vessel, he stood surrounded by the black heads of his disciples."

The compulsory leisure while lying at anchor at Anaiteum produced a humorous letter from the bishop to his old master, Dr. Keate. The facsimile of the bishop's "Design Map" will not be without interest for old Etonians; and it will be observed that the bishop anticipated a modern poet in giving to Eton boys the title of "young barbarians."

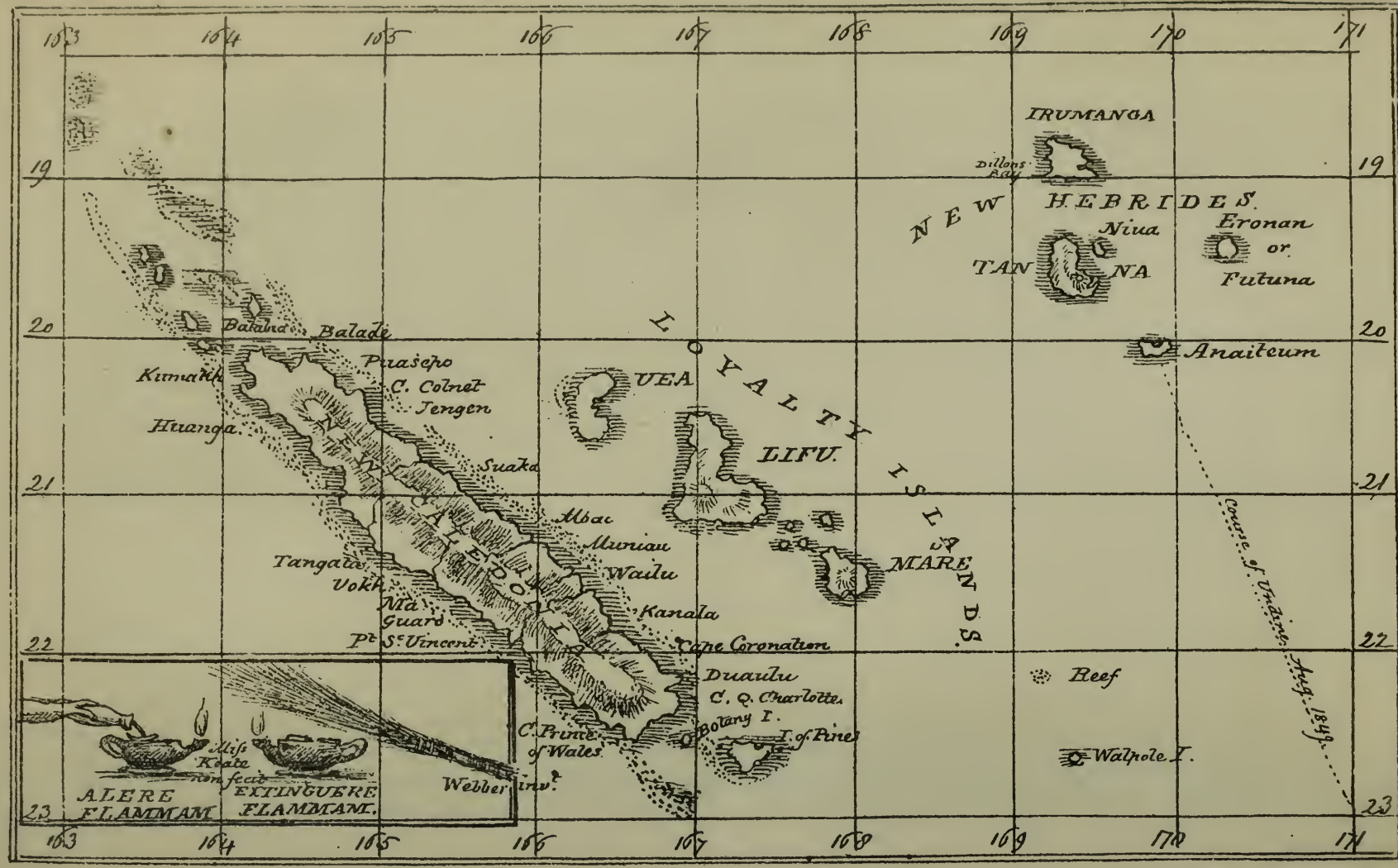
"UNDINE," AT ANCHOR, ANAITEUM,
NEW HEBRIDES, S. Lat. 20.10; Long. 170 E. *August 19th*, 1849.

MY DEAR DR. KEATE,

You will not perhaps consider it as a compliment that I am reminded by the wild and untrained barbarians, among whom I am now cruising, to fulfil an intention, which I have long had in my mind, of writing a letter to you, to whom in gratitude and justice I owe so many. But such is literally the fact, that Anaiteum, strangely enough, connected itself in my mind with Eton; and these lawless natives with the recollection of the state in which I and many others were before our "general

conduct" was reformed, sometimes by judicious forbearance, and sometimes by well-deserved castigation. I have often thought how much the office of a missionary needs these qualities, which enable the head-master of a public school to coerce the troubled waves of that "boy sea" which is so essentially barbarian in all its impulses and appetites. Without that patience and forbearance which I experienced from you when I was among the most impudent savages of your division, I might now have been one of those wandering and restless spirits, whom I meet at every place, cast off by some early impatience of control into a life of effort without purpose, spent in continual and random motion, like that rolling stone which proverbially gathers no moss. From the experience of my own youth, I gather, I hope, many useful lessons for my peculiar ministry, where nothing would ever be done if we did not look beyond the outside appearance, and discern the signs of latent good beneath the most unpromising surface.

I do not know whether I have clearly explained the connexion of idea between Anaiteum and yourself; but on the simpler and more obvious ground of the power of learning to tame the savage mind "*Ingenuas didicisse, &c,*" one of the Roman Catholic priests at this place gave me an amusing example. Some years ago they had a mission on the northern end of New Caledonia, from which they were driven; but they still have with them a native boy from that country, who, as the priest informed me with evident satisfaction, had learned Latin. As I was not requested to examine him, I cannot speak of the amount of his knowledge; but the effect of the *literæ humaniores*, or other causes, had certainly reformed the savage, and converted him into a very orderly and pleasing youth. I hope to carry back with me to St. John's a decade of Melanesian youths; but I fear that I must postpone the administration of the Latin remedy till the English doctors at the college can write their prescriptions in a more Ciceronian style. At present we are at the Shakspearian standard of small Latin and less Greek, and any attempt to raise the standard at present would, I fear, only raise the value of Smart's Horace, and Dawson's Lexicon. Abraham has a noble field before him,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IRUMANGA
Dillons Bay
NEW HEBRIDES.
Niua
TAN NA
Eronan or Futuna
Anaiteum
Course of Vindex Aug. 1849
Balana
Balade
Kumakh
Praseepo
C. Colnet
Jengen
Huanga.
LOYALTY ISLANDS.
UEA
LIFU.
MARE
Suaka
Mbac
Muniau
Waulu
Kanala
Tangada
Vokh
Ma
Guard
Pt St Vincent
Cape Coronation
Druaulu
C. Q. Charlotte
Botany I.
I. of Pines
C. Prince of Wales
Reef
Walpole I.
Miss Keate
Webber inv.t
ALERE FLAMMAM
EXTINGUERE FLAMMAM.

as Romulus had, to build up a college (in all its literary character) from the very foundation. He will find, however, some appetite awakened by the tantalizing effect of a name without a reality. While we have been striving on from year to year, with a much larger body than our funds could maintain, and for that reason doing many things for ourselves, which are usually procured by hired labour, parents have asked what use it is for their sons to be taught to dig and to plough, and now ask for more Latin and Greek, of which, if it had been offered to them at first, they would have been the first to question the utility. Circumstances seem to make it likely that this will become a learned colony by the negation of learning in the first instance. The time seems to be approaching when the growing appetite may safely be gratified, and I hold in my hands the sluice-gates of "*As in Præsenti*," to irrigate the thirsty land as soon as the pædometer has risen to its proper level.

Another recollection of Eton is supplied by the charts, which I am obliged to make for my own use, of these seas, at present but little known to hydrographers. As a recollection of Remove Trials, and of one of the many pieces of impudence for which I now beg forgiveness, I now send in my new "trial map," with a "device" as old as 1822; but not done as most of the best devices were in later days by "the Miss Keates."

I am now waiting for the *Havannah* frigate, as Captain Erskine consented to meet me here on the 25th of August, to accomplish which I started on the 1st of August, and enjoyed such an unexpected rapidity of voyage that I have now been here ten days (23rd), and it is still two days from the day appointed for meeting. The little *Undine* ran the distance of 1,000 miles in exactly ten days, out of which nearly two were spent in that state which is called professionally "lying-to," when the wind is contrary, or the sea too high to allow of our running before it. The genius of the Anglo-Saxon race in New Zealand is more likely to be shown in "spinning yarns," in nautical phrase, than in that which Sydney Smith considers its peculiar province, the manufacture of calico; for every inhabitant of our sea-girt islands becomes a mariner more or less by force of necessity. I trust that this may

lead, as it has in England, to a diffusive energy of commercial enterprise, and especially of that commerce which has for its object the gain of souls and the extension of the dominion of the Gospel.

I must congratulate you and Mrs. Keate on the appointment of my friend John to the living of Hartley, a concentration of family interest and feeling which I have learned to value by the severing of all such visible and outward bonds of union in my own life and ministry. But as every man is generally led by Providence into the work for which he is naturally fitted, or is taught some measure of fitness by the practical exercise of his duties, I have no doubt that John will be happy, neither more nor less, in his little parish of Hartley, than his predecessor, the Bishop of Sydney, and I shall be in a field of duty which can be measured only by degrees of latitude and longitude. John will, I am sure, accept my warmest congratulations and best wishes for that blessing upon his ministry which is equally needed in the smallest or the largest work.

With my most affectionate regards to Mrs. Keate, Anna, Margaret, and Louie, and Miss Brown, and to any other, whether Coleridge or Durnford, who may be with you,

I remain, my dear Doctor Keate,
Your affectionate and grateful friend and scholar,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

On the homeward voyage the following letter, showing the difficulties of the work and the bishop's plans, was written:—

TO WILLIAM SELWYN, ESQ.

"UNDINE" SCHOONER, OFF NEW CALEDONIA,
S. Lat. 20.58.; Long. 166.18 E.
Sept. 15*th*, 1849.

MY DEAR FATHER,

As you are a great traveller yourself within the limits of your home circuit of Brighton, Tunbridge Wells, Melbourne, Ely, and Cambridge, I generally dedicate to you the narrative of my wanderings, which, in the present instance, will be embodied in the form of a new number of the *Illustrated Melanesian News*,[1] the chief part of my present voyage having brought me into communication

[1] This letter contained many pen and ink sketches.

with the posterity of Ham, with some small admixture of the blood of Shem. The darker skin, the woolly hair, and the projecting mouth, have been predominant in all the islands which I have visited. But a distinction still more remarkable is seen in the amazing multiplicity of languages, as if the curse upon the builders of Babel had fallen with tenfold weight upon the race of Ham, and had involved them in a "confusion worse confounded" than that which fell upon the rest of the human race. Among the Asiatic or Malay race, which has spread itself over the islands to the eastward, the differences of language amount to no more than dialects of the same languages; so that a person well acquainted with one may readily acquire any of the others. Even small detached islands retain a greater similarity one to another than is found in the larger groups. With natives of Rarotonga I converse almost as freely as with New Zealanders; and an islander from a small and nameless spot on the equator, who was picked up at sea adrift in his canoe, was delighted to hear from me a dialect so much nearer to his own than that of the Samoan (Navigator) islanders, among whom he was living.

On the contrary, every island in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia groups has at least one language of its own; and sometimes in the same small island the dialects are sufficiently different to preclude all intercourse between the tribes. In Tanna there are at least three dialects which would require a separate study. In New Caledonia there will probably be found to be a still greater diversity. Each of the Loyalty Islands, Uea, Lifu, and Mare, has its own speech. The same confusion is found among the Australian tribes, and has retarded, I fear I may say prevented, the introduction of Christianity.

But you must not suppose that these fragments of the one primeval language have become so shattered and corrupted as to show no sign of systematic organization. On the contrary, the language of the little island of Anaijom, which is spoken by no more than 1,500 people, is so complicated in its structure that the natives of other islands who come to reside there are said to be unable to master it; but that an Anaijom man (as is usually the case) can acquire readily the language of any other country.

In common with the Asiatic islanders, the black races have that delicate use of the exclusive and inclusive pronoun, which is so powerful in some modes of speech; as in the noble speech of Abijah (2 Chron. xiii. 11): "We keep the charge of the Lord our God; but ye have forsaken Him." How confused is our "We," or the Greek ἡμεῖς, or Latin *Nos* (which might include the persons to whom Abijah was speaking), compared with the emphatic Polynesian . . . . . "*matou*," or the Melanesian (Anaijom) "*aijeama*," } we, but not you, as opposed to the "tatou" and "*akaijea*," which would include the persons addressed.

But the Melanesian dialects have a distinction unknown to the eastern Polynesians in a separate pronoun, which we call a triplial, or trial, for the special use of the number Three. The Greek is as much behind the languages of Tanna and Anaijom in lacking the Trial, as we are inferior to the Greek by the defect of the Dual. The force and clearness with which an Anaijom man would translate the witches' song—"When shall *we three* (*etmaitaij*) meet again"—would far exceed the languages of Europe. Even the teaching of the doctrine of the Trinity is aided by this refinement of language in a people supposed to be so barbarous.

This preface on the languages of the Western Islands is not intended simply as a general heading to usher in a long disquisition, like one of Cicero's *Proœmia*, for I have neither knowledge nor inclination for such a work; but it is necessary in order to explain to you the reasons which will make this voyage entirely barren, at least for the present, of all spiritual fruit, viz., that I am unable to communicate with the people in their own languages; and therefore that I shall have no conversions or baptisms to report. But in the same manner as travellers penetrate into a dark cave, and, when they find that daylight fails them, send for torches to enlighten the gloom, which, when kindled, are reflected by a thousand mirrors from the spars and stalactites on all sides, the crystals which had never seen the light before, now proving their fitness to receive and to diffuse it; so, after once groping in the dark among these heathen islands, I hope to be enabled, by God's blessing, to return again with some willing and faithful men,

who will devote themselves to this work of making their Master's light shine in the darkness ; with the fullest confidence that in this, as in all other cases, it will not be long before it will be caught and reflected by the native youths, who have always been found the most willing instruments in imparting to others the blessing which they have received.

The voyage of H.M.S. *Havannah* round many of the islands in the Pacific, which began in June last, seemed to be a favourable opportunity for visiting many places, which are scarcely safe for a small vessel unprovided with arms, and engaged in a mission of peace. The death of Mr. Williams, at Erromango, in the New Hebrides, and of a French bishop at Ysabel, in the Solomon group, besides the almost numberless reports of affrays with trading vessels, were quite enough to point out the danger of going alone ; and, even if I had felt myself worthy of the crown of martyrdom, it would have been sufficient to know that it was never granted by the Primitive Church to those who needlessly exposed themselves to death. The example of the great Apostolic Missionary teaches us to find some basket by which to escape down the wall, or some friendly soldier to guard our retreat by night, till the time come when we are now, by God's appointment, "ready to be offered," and when "the time of our departure is at hand." But no one can go through these seas without finding with humiliation how the martyrs of the Cross fall short, both in number and in energy, of the martyrs of the world. Almost every place which I have visited has its record of English lives sacrificed to the love of gain ; and of that kind of gain so dear to our enterprising race, which is acquired by exposure to danger. The efforts of the sandal-wood traders for their own worldly ends have shown the spirit, if not the wisdom, "of the children of this world," and reduce all the works of the children of light to their own true and humble level of "reasonable service." In conformity with this general principle of avoiding all unnecessary risk, I availed myself of the kindness of Captain Erskine to appoint a time for meeting at Anaiteum, the southernmost of the New Hebrides, where he intended to arrive from the Navigator and Fiji Islands on or about the 25th August.

Accordingly, on the 1st August, the *Undine* put to sea, attended, as I know is the case always, by the prayers and good wishes of many Christian friends at Auckland (among whom at this time was Archdeacon Brown, of Tauranga) who felt and expressed the deepest interest in this attempt to make our Colonial Church in New Zealand a new centre of missionary light to the neighbouring islands, which still lie in darkness. Being aware of the great multiplicity of dialects, and having only two months to bestow upon the voyage, I limited my hopes to the two objects of obtaining a general knowledge of the principal islands and their chiefs, and of bringing back with me some native youths for education at St. John's. This, I hoped, would be the first beginning of the Polynesian College spoken of in my Charge, to which, if it be God's will, "the isles" will send "their sons from far unto the name of the Lord, and to the Holy One of Israel."

On October 1st the cruise ended; the bishop and his party landed at Auckland at midnight, and in the clear light of a full moon walked out to the college. His arrival was hardly expected; but doors had been left unbolted, and he came into his own house rubbing his hands, and arousing Mrs. Selwyn by exclaiming, "I've got them!" It was a triumph for which to be thankful; the five wild little islanders were the forerunners of the indigenous clergy of Melanesia. One of the lads, Thol, from Lifu, the youngest of the party, was very ill during his sojourn at St. John's, and was nursed by the bishop and Mrs. Selwyn as though he were their own child. Writing to her son in England Mrs. Selwyn thus describes him and his doings:—

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, *Nov. 6th*, 1849.

"I think that I have not written to you since papa came back from his cruise in the *Undine*. He went to New Caledonia, to the New Hebrides, and to the Loyalty Isles, and brought back five natives from some of those islands to teach them here, that they may go back and teach their own countrymen; to make a beginning towards teaching them to be Christians; at present they know nothing

150
160
170
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New Ireland
Solomon Is.
New Britain
Bougainville I.
Lord Howe Is.
Choiseul I.
Treasury Is.
Ysabel I.
Gower I.
Eddystone Is.
Mayou Is.
New Georgia
Stewart I.
Kennedy I.
Jesus I.
Malayta I.
Guadalcamar
Duff Is.
NEW GUINEA
Marau
Gulf Is.
Malanana
Nukapu I., where Bishop Patteson was killed
Santa Cruz
San Christoval
Rossel I.
Louisiade Archipelago
Sudest I.
Bellona I.
Rennell I.
Tupua
Santa Cruz Is.
Anouda
Vanikoro
Tucopia
Torres Is.
Bligh I.
Vatu I.
Valua I.
Banks Is.
Vanua Lava
Mota I.
Santa Maria
P. Patteson
Star Pk.
Espiritu Santo
P. Leper's
Aurora
Pentecost
Mallicollo
Ambrym
Paama
P. Sandwich
Api I.
Shepherd Is.
Havannah Hr.
Sandwich I. (Vate)
New Hebrides
SOUTH
Huon Is.
Dillon B.
Erromango
Nuua
Tanna
Futuna
Bampton Reef
Balade Hr.
Loyalty
Bishop Soucia
Uea
Aneiteum
Lifu Is.
New Caledonia

R. Clay Sons & Taylor, Lith. Bread St. Hill, London. E.C.

about religion and the things that you have been taught from your youth. But we do not get on very fast, for in all these little islands a different language is spoken. The youngest of the party, too, a boy named Thol, from the island of Lifu, has been very ill lately, so that schooling has been changed into nursing. He lies in the library, and we all take care of him, and wonder to see one who has been so little taught behave so well. On the table lies a list of Lifu words, which we learn from him, and with these and the little English he has picked up we can converse a little. He made me laugh to-day by suddenly asking me if nurse would 'fight him' if he had a cocoa-nut. He meant, of course, if she would be angry. . . .

"He wants to have a large ship, and take a great many of us to Lifu; but especially is Johnny to go; and there, he says, his mother will carry Johnny on her back, and give him 'too much sugar-cane.' The other islanders look strange enough, because of their dark skins and yellow hair. Their names are Siapo, Uliete, and Kateingo; and there is also a boy named Thallup, from the Isle of Pines. They all appear to be very happy, only they would like it better if they could get sea-water to drink."

The story of this voyage, so full of interest and of practical results, is told in two letters addressed by the bishop to his father, and written, the first when on a Diocesan Visitation by sea in December, 1849, and the last on the return voyage to Melanesia, when the boys were restored to their homes and their native latitudes before the cold of the New Zealand winter could reach them.

To William Selwyn, Esq.

"Undine" Schooner, at Sea,
Frith of the Thames,
Dec. 6th, 1849.

My dear Father,

My last Melanesian news ended at the island of Futuna. My stay at this island did not exceed one day, in which time I could not do more than make a preliminary acquaintance with the inhabitants, which may be improved hereafter. A young lad of pleasing demeanour who wished to go with us to school was detained by his friends. . . . .

At Tanna, we had scarcely anchored when our decks were crowded by a party of thirty or forty natives, who behaved with perfect honesty, though they are reputed to be great thieves. We had taken care not to put temptation in their way by leaving any movable articles on the deck. In the harbour were two sandal-wood traders, the *Rover's Bride* and the *Phantom*, which seemed to enjoy a larger amount of popularity, as trading vessels, than I could expect to obtain without the use of tobacco, which I never carry with me. It seems to be unjust to take the food, for which the natives have laboured, and to pay them in a slow poison, which will gradually unfit them for labour. There are three native teachers in this island, who soon came on board, when they heard that the *Undine* was a Mission vessel. They are natives of Rarotonga, the dialect of which island so closely resembles that of New Zealand that I could converse freely with them. They could not report any large number of converts, nor is it likely that men of their class will ever make much impression upon heathen minds; but they are of great use in preparing the way for English missionaries, and in acting as interpreters for them on their first arrival. This has now become the uniform practice of the London Mission, and it has some advantages; but in many respects I cannot approve of it. My chief objection is that it is lowering the whole character of the mission work to confide to a subordinate agency the preliminary operations of a mission, which, by the nature of the case, involve greater danger and require more self-denial. If there be danger of life to the early missionary, this is surely the post of duty which the servant and soldier of the Cross, who is best acquainted with his Master's will, would claim for himself. If there be no danger, then the chief argument for native agency falls to the ground. There are places where the Gospel can be preached only by natives, from the pestilential character of the climate; but this is not the case in the New Hebrides, at least in the southern islands of the group. In every other case it seems to be foreign to the high and self-denying principle of Christian love to expose a fellow-creature to danger, because his life is held to be of less value than that of his English brother. Who can tell whether Mr.

Williams did not really serve God more effectually by his death than by any act of his laborious and enterprising life? May not the awakened interest in England, and the active zeal of surviving missionaries, be traced in some measure to the example of those who "jeopardised their lives unto the death," like the martyrs of old time, whose loss was requited tenfold to the Church by the still more numerous band of confessors who followed in their steps?

You will not suppose that I wish to speak unfavourably of the work of the London Mission, for I am happy to be able to say that, after considerable observation, I have received a very favourable opinion of the success of their work and of the character of their missionaries. I am bound to acknowledge with gratitude the good feeling and cordiality with which the Navigator Islands Mission at once resigned the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia, as the natural appendages of the New Zealand Church, and placed their native teachers in those islands in connexion with me. The same rule does not apply to the New Hebrides, where the Society hopes to be able to station English missionaries. Tanna was formerly occupied by Messrs. Turner and Nesbitt, both of the London Mission, but they were driven away by the intestine wars among the tribes.

In the afternoon I went on shore with the master of the *Phantom* to a sandal-wood station of a Mr. Richards, which seemed to prove that the time had come when the mission work might be resumed without molestation. The carpenter of the station had been left alone in charge of the house and property, and during that time was attacked by a severe fever, from which he was convinced that he could not have recovered if he had not been constantly waited upon and fed by the natives.

The Tannese are not very prepossessing in their appearance. Like our own forefathers, their great delight is to case themselves in a complete suit of parti-coloured paint. The most acceptable presents seem to be a little vermilion to smear over their faces, a red binding to tie round their heads, and a few blue beads to hang round their necks. In selling their gigantic yams they are more cautious, and often demand an axe as the price of the largest, which are some times six feet in length and sixty pounds in weight. . . . .

An opportunity was offered by the sailing of the *Phantom* cutter for obtaining a knowledge of the neighbouring island of Erromango, so well, but painfully, known by the death of Mr. Williams. The master of the *Phantom*, by name Oliver, kindly undertook to show me the best anchorages on the shore of the island, for harbours there are none. We sailed out in company on Thursday, August 30th, though very unwilling to leave this pretty harbour after so short a stay. But the object of my present voyage being rather to obtain preliminary knowledge of the whole field of operations than to attempt anything, I was obliged to be content to pass rapidly on, in hope that the experience thus obtained may, by God's blessing, be turned to good account hereafter. . . . .

You would have been amused to see the *Undine* racing with the *Phantom* before a sparkling tradewind, the Sydney racing cutter having rather the advantage till we set all sail, and took the lead. My motto I think must be,

"Nave ferar magnâ an parvâ, ferar unus et idem."

For on one day it is my lot to keep company with sandal-wood traders, and on the next with her Majesty's men of war. As sources of local information the sandal-wooders are most useful companions, and I must say of them, as I have before said of many of the whale-fishers, that I have received much kindness and civility from them. In the history of the sandal-wood trade there have been many things done disgraceful to the civilized man and revolting to humanity, but these enormities are not by any means chargeable upon the traders as a class. I have reason to think Mr. Paddon, of Anaiteum, and Richards, of Tanna, conduct their trade in an humane and equitable manner. I hear an equally good account of other traders, with whom I have had no personal intercourse. It is not my desire or my office to hold up any man to public execration, otherwise the names of certain miscreants, who have disgraced their country and belied their religion by their evil deeds among these islands, would meet with the exposure which they have deserved. But I have learned to leave vengeance to Him to whom it belongs; and to His justice and to the remorse of their own conscience I consign them.

The island of which I am now writing (Irumanga or Erromango) is one of those which has suffered most, and has retaliated most vindictively. In outward appearance the people bear the character of the negro race, with little or no admixture of the Asiatic or Polynesian feature. I am unable to say how far their language would confirm this, as I have only a small collection of their words. But it is certainly most remarkable to see even on this small island the visible traces of the curse which has so long desolated Africa. They are supposed to be the enemies of every trader, and have proved themselves to be the murderers even of the missionary. Not that I would impute to them any knowledge of the character in which Mr. Williams landed on their shores, but would rather believe that he was sacrificed to an indiscriminate thirst for vengeance, provoked by wanton and barbarous aggression. The shores of this island are remarkably favourable for that dastardly practice, followed by the French at Tahiti, of sailing round the coast at a safe distance, and firing into the dwellings of the inhabitants. They have no canoes, and have not even the poor chance of revenge by surprising a vessel in a calm. Their huts, perched on the wooded sides of steep acclivities, or nestled under the cocoa-nut trees, on the small margin of coral banks, which in some places look almost the towing path of a navigable river, present too fair a mark to be missed even by the clumsy gunner and the rusty swivel of sandal-wood traders. The deep water close to the rocks and the steady trade wind (*experto crede*) enable the small vessels to run along within a cable's length of the shore. Can it be wondered at that the most rancorous hatred should have grown up, in such a situation as this, between two bodies of combatants, who can never decide their quarrel by fair and open war, because the one cannot board and the other dares not to land. The first sight of Mr. Williams and his party on the beach of Dillon's Bay was enough to awaken the thirst for blood, by placing, perhaps for the first time, the power of revenge within their reach.

But I cannot agree with those who think that Mr. Williams was too rash. It is the duty of a missionary to go to the extreme point of boldness short of an exposure to known and certain danger. In these islands something

must be risked if anything is to be done. It is quite uncertain from visit to visit in what temper the natives may be found. If any violence or loss of life should have occurred in the interval between the missionary's visits, his blood may be required, as much as that of any other white man; for it is only by the refinement of justice and by the power of true religion that man is taught to visit a crime upon the individual offender, rather than to exact the penalty from his whole race. In New Zealand it is only of late years that an aggression by any Englishman would not have been considered a sufficient reason for reprisals upon any of our countrymen. If the opportunity of satisfaction should happen to have been afforded, it is probable that the next visitor would be better treated; the debt of blood being considered to have been paid. In a former letter I think that I told you how quietly the chief of Rotuma (Granville Island) spoke of an affray with the captain of an English vessel, which he said was an affair quite settled, because *one* native only was killed, but *two* Englishmen. In a book recently published by a Mr. Coulter, surgeon of a whale ship, a sudden and unprovoked attack by the natives of Drummond Island upon a vessel commanded by a captain who had often traded with them before on the most friendly terms, is attributed to the fact that since his last visit one of their towns had been burnt and many lives destroyed by a ship, the name of which he could not ascertain. If the date of his voyage had not been given, I should have concluded that the unknown ship was the *Vincennes*, commanded by Commodore Wilkes, who vainly thought, in common with many other captains, that an indiscriminate massacre of the innocent with the guilty is the course by which these islanders will be taught to fear the power and to respect the laws of civilized nations. Experience seems to prove that such "demonstrations" of "physical power," more properly called "brute force," are as fruitless as Don Quixote's interference in behalf of the boy who had been whipped, which only led to his receiving a second and a more severe flogging as soon as the knight-errant was gone. Unless the civilized nations mean to garrison every island in the Pacific, they must trust more to the effect of moral influence and *good example* to preserve the lives of their

subjects, than to the exploits of naval knights-errant, who, in default of regular war, are ambitious of signalizing their courage by actions worthy only of the buccaneers. It was long supposed that a broadside from the *Alligator* man-of-war, on the west coast of Taranaki, had frightened all New Zealand into submission; when now it has been found that two thousand soldiers and five ships of war had been barely enough, even with justice on our side, and therefore with the alliance also of a large majority of the native people.

"Undine," at Sea, *April 15th*, 1850.
Lat. S. 24; Long. E. 171.

My dearest Father,

In consequence of various delays, the last letter of my Melanesian news has been postponed till I am again at sea, and far advanced on another cruise to the same islands. This letter then, like the "Homeric Hours," will be able to hold converse with its successors as it passes over the threshold upon which they are entering. For the sake of distinctness I shall make no further mention of my present voyage, lest you should become as much confused by the dates of my whereabouts as you were formerly by the alibis of the rogues who appeared before you as Recorder of Portsmouth; but I shall revert at once to the date at which my last letter ended. . . . .

On Wednesday, September 12, we sailed at daybreak, gliding along the still water of the lagoon with only a faint breath of wind. Two native canoes lay about a mile from us, slowly crossing to the reef for the purpose, probably, of fishing. As they were of small size, and with few men on board, it seemed to be a favourable opportunity for opening a communication with the people. Our little boat has the excellent quality of never causing any alarm; while the man-of-war's boats, on the contrary, often send the canoes paddling off as fast as they can to the shore. My two New Zealand boys, James and Sydney, rowed me to the nearest canoe, and, after all that I had heard of the savage and treacherous character of the New Caledonians, I was delighted to find on my first interview that all Captain Cook's report of their friendliness of disposition was fully confirmed. After the usual parley of signs, we exchanged tokens of amity with the three men in the

canoe,—I presenting them with fish-hooks, which they requited with shells. I then invited one of them to visit the vessels, upon which he stepped most readily into the boat, and left his canoe to pursue its own course to the reef. It is impossible to believe that men who trust themselves so confidingly with strangers are in their own nature treacherous or cruel. The character of a people ought to be judged by the unpremeditated acts of single individuals rather than by those of large bodies. In the absence of any means of oral communication, the individual character remains almost unknown. If a murder is committed, it is said to be committed by "the natives"; if a war breaks out, "the natives" are said to be in rebellion; and by the force of this habitual error of language the whole native race is condemned for the acts of a few, till the domineering Anglo-Saxon unconsciously follows Nero in wishing that the whole native race had but one neck that he might cut it off at one blow. Surely it is a matter worthy of the gravest consideration when we find that even a great and generous nation like our own, priding itself upon its strict adherence to justice, and accustomed to hold as sacred and inviolable every right, however insignificant, of every citizen, however worthless, loses practically a large portion of its own most darling principle when it comes in contact with uncivilized tribes. . . . All the great and gallant nations of the world, who possess naval power, have crimes to answer for, which will be impartially adjudicated hereafter, in cases in which, in defiance of their own laws and their own principles, they have burned whole villages and massacred hundreds of men, women, and children for the untried and unproved offence of "some person or persons unknown." The captain of a man-of-war is made judge, jury, and executioner. Some interested witness, perhaps an escaped convict, the only person who can be found acquainted with the native language, is the sole evidence. This is called "summary justice," which is in fact a violation of all justice; and "salutary terror," which, so far from cowing the native tribes, makes them more terrible to all sea-faring men, and even to the great bullies themselves. This same process is going on in every part of the Southern Pacific, and if it be not arrested by wise measures will

lead everywhere to the same results, of bloody retaliation and endless strife; and all because the civilized nations, in their intercourse with these islanders, have gone back five centuries in their code of international laws, and descended into the grade of feudal chieftains, or border marauders, or, still lower, into the usages of the very savages whom they condemn. Instead of the grave and impartial administration of British justice, or the solemn declaration of war by the British nation against an offending people, we see trading consuls invested with a power of life and death, not against tried and convicted offenders only, but against native tribes in general, and naval officers wielding the prerogative of her Majesty to declare war, and to burn and massacre in the name of Her who, while she holds the sword of justice, is also the fountain of mercy.

Great as is the evil and danger of the present state of things, the remedy is not so difficult as might be supposed. The prolonged presence in these seas of a really enlightened naval officer, one of those who believe that

> "It is excellent to have a giant's strength,
> But tyrannous to use it like a giant;"

a man like Captain Sotheby, or Captain Maxwell, or Captain Erskine, or Sir Everard Home, who will enter into the spirit of the work, and carry it out, in spite of the attractions of Sydney society, where officers dance at balls, and imbibe, in that congenial region, antipathies against all coloured races—such an officer permanently stationed in these seas, and constantly visiting all the islands, would live himself in a perpetual summer, and, wherever he went, would be like Shakspeare's sun, "to make glorious summer out of the winter of discontent." While the hurricanes are sweeping from Tahiti to New Caledonia he would enjoy the perfection of weather in New Zealand. In April, when our south-western gales begin to cool themselves from the icebergs which have floated northward into Mr. Enderby's antarctic principality, he will fly, as we are now doing (April 16) before them into the steady breezes of the eastern trades, which just now, like unhappy France, are the more anxious to be settled, because of the hurricanes by which they have lately been disturbed. A *known* ship and a *known*

commander would bring out every friendly native from every little nook in the coral reef in which his canoe is secured; many would take short voyages to and fro, and speedily acquire the English language; the young officers taking each a language in charge, and, encouraged by the hope (as in New Zealand) of some appointment as interpreters, would master the island dialects; and the days of Captain Cook would return again, when ships visited foreign countries to do good to the people, and not merely to while away the commission, to collect shells, or to practise with ball cartridge upon the native villages. England enjoys at present the best reputation of all the naval powers; and it is for her to take the lead in making this ocean as pacific in its moral character as it is already in its climate and in its name.

My narrative has been becalmed so long at the entrance of the lagoon of Jengen, that I must take advantage of a light breeze now springing up to pursue my course. I lost no time in taking my New Caledonian friend on board the *Havannah*, where he was soon happy in the midst of endless objects of curiosity, and liberal largesses of tobacco. In this respect, the *Undine* must always be content to be less attractive than her consort, whose very name is redolent of cigars. . . . .

In the morning of September 22, I breakfasted with Captain Erskine, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Amatha being also of the party. He is the first of his order whom I have ever met in society, and we had much friendly conversation. I state this at once lest I should seem to suppress it, for fear of the old charge against me of a tendency to Rome, which is as reasonable and as charitable as if one were to accuse me of Judaizing because I once bought pencils of a Jew in Piccadilly. I hope that the *Record* and the other discord-makers in the Church of England have by this time learned either more charity or more sense, than to reckon among the enemies of the Church some of her warmest friends and most obedient children. . . . .

Our south-west wind was now fair for New Zealand, and so much were we favoured that on Sunday, the 30th September, the ninth day after leaving the Isle of Pines, we were off Cape Brett, in the Bay of Islands, before sunset; and

on the following day, October 1, we anchored at Auckland, exactly two months from the day of sailing, having completed a course of 3,000 miles, 2,000 of which, viz., the passages out and home, had been accomplished in less than twenty days. I could not but thank God for a voyage in which the wind had always been fair and the weather tempered to the powers of our vessel.

The walk from the town of Auckland to the college was most amusing, from the frequent exclamations of surprise raised by my native companions at every new object which they saw. The number of houses in the town, the herds of oxen and horses, which, after colonial fashion, were reposing in the middle of the road ; the breadth of the road itself, and a variety of similar subjects of remark, kept them in a state of constant excitement till we reached home. And so ended my Melanesian voyage, with new and multiplied occasions of thankfulness both for things abroad and for things at home.

May 17*th*, 1850.

P.S.—Jengen, New Caledonia, Lat. 20. 40, East Coast. —As I am thus far advanced upon my second Melanesian voyage, having followed nearly the same course as in the former, I may confine myself to a simple mention of dates and places, without dragging you after me again to the places already described.

The object of my present voyage has been to carry back my native scholars to their own homes, lest the damp and cold of our New Zealand winter should take effect upon them, and so cause an unfavourable impression, which might impede our future operations. Our little Lifu boy Thol was nearly lost in the early spring by an inflammatory attack upon the lungs. All five are now perfectly well, and flourishing in the congenial warmth of their own climate. The first of them, Thallup, will remain here, and has already begun to prepare himself for assimilation to his own people by distributing his clothing among his relations. This is to be expected ; and to attempt to keep him clothed by supplying him with more would be only to follow the error of those benevolent persons who give clothes to the ragged without inquiry, thereby offering a high premium for the encouragement of raggedness.

We find that even this first experiment, small and

imperfect as it has been, has opened to us a way for future usefulness in this missionary field. We no longer visit these islands as strangers, but we have our own scholars as friends and interpreters to explain our objects. The report seems to be favourable, as we have now several applications from the New Caledonian youths for leave to go to New Zealand. At present I have no intention of taking any, as the winter is coming on, and they would find the change to our climate very uncomfortable. But if it should please God to prolong my life, I hope to return, and with increased means of information to select carefully the next class of scholars and take them with me to New Zealand. . . . .

From this place our course, God willing, will be to Lifu, Loyalty Islands (Chabool), to restore Thol to his friends; thence to Mare, Loyalty Islands (Britannia), to take back three scholars, Siapo, Uliete, and Kateingo; and lastly to the Isle of Pines, and possibly to Norfolk Island; and so to New Zealand, where the object now nearest and brightest in prospect is the meeting with Mr. and Mrs. Abraham. But it may be God's will that I may be disappointed in this, which seems almost too great a blessing to be granted to me.

I believe that I have made sufficiently clear, in the course of these letters, the plan which I purpose, in the hope of the Divine blessing, to follow for the conversion of the Melanesian tribes; which is, in few words, to select a few promising youths from all the islands, to prove and test them, first by observation of their habits on board a floating school, then to take them for further training to New Zealand; and, lastly, when they are sufficiently advanced, to send them back as teachers to their own people, if possible with some English missionary, to give effect and regularity to their work. In the meantime, all the ordinary losses by sickness, violence, and theft, which occur frequently where missionaries are stationed at once on unknown ground, will be avoided by the migratory mission station, which will never be in the power of the evil, but will always be within reach of the well-disposed. What the issue of this attempt may be, God only knows, and time alone can disclose. I am sure that I may rely upon your co-operation, especially in that form of aid, which

can never fail, in the earnest prayers which you will offer up in the quiet of your own retirement for us who live continually in the hurry of new works, and the babble of new tongues, and are least free in mind to pray when most we need those blessings which prayer alone is able to procure.

Another letter, written at the end of 1849 to the Rev. E. Coleridge, shows how the college was justifying itself until it threatened to overflow its bounds, and to overstrain the powers of its teachers.

St. John's College, Auckland,
Dec. 21*st*, 1849.

My very dear Friend,

I cannot keep numbers down. As the English scholars fall off, from the dislike of the parents for our mixed system, the native youths flow in, with evident appreciation of a system which was designed primarily for them, and now the great Polynesian fountain begins to pour in its supplies, so that if it were only now possible to organize an effective teacherhood, by God's blessing, we might at once begin a work at which you hearts would rejoice.

I returned in safety, by the grace of God, on the 1st of October, bringing with me five native youths: one from New Caledonia, three from Mare, and one from Lifu. I could have filled the *Undine* with youths from most of these islands if I had had more time, but a day or two at each was too short a time for explanation with the parents. Many nice boys were lost by my being unable to wait till they had seen their friends.

I have sent to my father some account of my voyage, which you will probably see; but I had such rapid runs from place to place that I did not complete my journal on board, and at home I have no leisure for writing. If it were not for my floating study you would get no letters from me at all.

My heart beats with joy at the prospect of Abraham coming. O what a blessing it will be to a mind not only beginning to be over-wrought but beginning to be conscious of it. I have now a practised man of business, who will act as Registrar, and relieve me of the accounts. Abraham

will sustain part of the spiritual and intellectual strain which falls upon the head of such an institution as this. I have other young men who are becoming useful in the domestic department. Mr. Parris, our farm superintendent, is both a Christian man and a most able and willing bailiff. Champion, my navarch, is beginning his sixth year of faithful service. We have an excellent master carpenter, one Hunter, who is organizing successfully a class of native apprentices. The last batch of pensioners has yielded us a veteran, who unites the offices of weaver and drill-sergeant. All promises well, but to keep all these wheels in gear is a heavy strain upon one whose mind revolves in an orbit from New Guinea to the Auckland Islands. Yet the two works are one; for I cannot dare to bring home islanders from the South Seas without a thriving and comprehensive college to receive them. Mr. Lloyd will perhaps help me with the Polynesian branch of the college. But where to find a governing head and first-lieutenant for the whole I know not; that I may be where I ought to be, in every island in the Pacific, and in every village in New Zealand, and, at home, in the chapel and the lecture-room. . . .

I must be a tyrant, and to be a good-natured tyrant is the great difficulty. If I were once to loose the rein by which self-seeking is restrained, the college in its present form would come to an end. The explosive element in all countries having a mixed population is the disposition of the one to domineer over the other. We are succeeding at last, I hope, in amalgamating the two races on an equality of privileges and position; but it is up-hill work; it seemed so natural to every English boy and man to have a Maori for his fag. I think that by God's blessing we shall succeed at last, and if we do, it will be a glorious measure of success; for our college will be a propaganda of twenty or thirty languages, sending out missionaries and native teachers to places whose names are not in the charts, and the language of whose people is unknown even to Hawtrey and Latham. Pray for us and for the work; and if it fall in your way to interest some rich friend in the enlargement of the college vessel, rest assured that the *Salaminia* or the *Paralus* shall not rot in my Piræus, if health and strength be prolonged to me.

I hope to meet the Australian brotherhood in Synod at

Sydney in April or May, 1850, eight years after my first landing there; yet the time seems "but a few days" for the love that I bear to New Zealand and to the work to which God has called me. If I could but feel that I was so growing in grace as to increase in fitness for the work as the work itself increases, I could then bound over the sea, and over every New Zealand forest and mountain, with the lightest of hearts and the most buoyant of hopes. But if the work should increase faster than the supply of inward strength to bear it, and if help should be withheld in the form in which it would be most welcome, by the subdivision of the diocese, it is not any bodily decay which I fear so much as that over-much serving may make my mind careful and troubled about many things, and unable, even in old age, to sit in contemplation at the feet of Christ.

The mention which has been made of the patience, which was the first condition of the working of the Melanesian Mission, would be incomplete without a notice of a most laborious task which the bishop undertook in the interests of this work. This was nothing less than a "Verbal Analysis of the Bible," and it is a characteristic circumstance that the idea was first suggested to him by Captain Marryat's international code of signals. On board the *Undine* the bishop had had the representatives of races speaking different languages, and it was necessary with the least possible delay to provide them with some means of communication. At first this was attained by that policy of "masterly inactivity," which is generally the synonym for impotence. The bishop was, in fact, impotent, and watched with some curiosity the process by which the natives of many islands established for themselves a conventional currency of words, which indeed consisted of scraps of many languages aided by impromptu signs.

In New Zealand he made all the clergymen whom he ordained learn Maori; and he declared that if the missionaries had contented themselves with English, the number of their converts would have been insignificant: but in Melanesia, where the languages were even more in

number than the islands, the case was different, and here he made English the common language of all. But the larger portion of the population of every island was not likely to learn English, and for these some further provision had to be made.

The bishop saw that by Captain Marryat's international code of signals, ships were enabled to communicate by symbol; and thus he conceived the idea of attaching to each word in the Bible its numerical symbol. By these a missionary would be able to make himself understood by people with whose language he was utterly unacquainted. The conjunction of Captain Marryat with Cicero is a strange one; but the Tusculan Questions in which (book iv. chap. vii.) is suggested the plan of bringing together into one view all words having the same general meaning, also laid the bishop under obligations. It was found that all the words in the Bible could be classified under about 250 heads, and under these, by following the root of thought rather than the root of language, the delicate lights and shades of each idiomatic expression were brought out. The simplest languages are often the richest in these delicate distinctions. Not only have the Latin words *video, tueor, specto,* and their Greek equivalents ὁράω, βλέπω and θεάομαι, their exact equivalents in Maori, but where in English we speak indiscriminately, for example, of breaking a bone, the skin, or a sinew, in the New Zealand language a bone, is *broken* by one word, the skin is *burst* by another, and the sinew *parts* by a third. Limited observation had led the bishop to expect to find the same variety of expression in the Melanesian tongues; on nearing one of the Loyalty islands he ordered a native to go aloft and look out for *land;* but the native word which he used was that which signified *ground.* The lad immediately said, pointing downwards, "*ground* here, *land* out there," and thus the distinction was pointed out and recorded.

The work is an abiding testimony to the industry of the bishop, and to his ability in doing what is so rarely done

satisfactorily, viz., the cutting "a royal road to learning." He intended his Analysis to be of use not merely among the heathen of Melanesia, but in the schools of New Zealand. In a young colony, where the demand for labour is abundant, he saw that the English system of education, continuing for fourteen or fifteen years, was doomed to failure, and that the question was "how to impart in one or two years a clear and comprehensive knowledge of all subjects really important to be known." The only solution was, that the English system must be reversed, and that principles must be taught, not by going in a long course of reading through a variety of books, but as collected in one point of view and illustrated by every light that can be thrown upon them.

Each page in the Analysis was capable of being used by all the children of a school, from the oldest to the youngest, as well as by Divinity students, and would at the same time furnish heads for a catechetical instruction which an intelligent teacher could easily work out. Thus uniformity of religious teaching was to a great degree secured throughout the diocese to pupils of all ages and conditions. The work was so original, and is such a monument of ungrudging labour, that it is well worthy of further illustration. To take therefore the word *bread* and its subdivisions *pulse* and *herbs;* to this the symbol 50 was given, and on page 50 of the Analysis the word Bread is given as the lesson for the Tuesday in the fourth week after the Epiphany, in the following table:—

EPIPHANY. FOURTH WEEK. TUESDAY. BREAD. PULSE. HERBS.

50.

	OLD TESTAMENT.			NEW TESTAMENT.		
		Reference.	ENGLISH.	*Reference.*		
1		Exod. 29. 2.	FLOUR.			
2		Levit. 14. 10.	Fine flour.			
3		Levit. 14. 10.	Deal of flour.			
4		1 Kings, 17, 12.	Meal.			
5		Num. 5. 15.	Barley meal.			
6		Gen. 18. 6.	KNEAD.			
7		Exod. 12. 34.	Kneading trough.			
8		Exod. 12. 39.	Dough.			
9			LEAVEN, *s.*	Matt. 13. 33.		
10			Old leaven . . .	1 Cor. 5. 7.		
11		Exod. 12. 15.	Leavened.			
12			Leaven, *v.* . . .	Gal. 5. 9.		
13		Exod. 12. 39.	Unleavened.			
14			Lump.	1 Cor. 5. 6.		
15			New lump . . .	1 Cor. 5. 7.		
16		Exod. 16. 23.	BAKE.			
17		Hosea 7. 6.	Baker.			
18		Gen. 40. 17.	Bakemeats.			
19		Hosea 7. 4.	Ovens.			
20		Psalm 104. 15.	BREAD.			
21		Levit. 26. 26.	Staff of bread.			
22			Shewbread . . .	Hebr. 9. 2.		
23			Loaf	Mark 8. 14.		
24		Levit. 23. 17.	Wave loaves.			
25		1 Kings 17. 12.	Cake.			
26		Exod. 29. 23.	Wafer.			
27		1 Kings 14. 3.	Cracknels.			
28		Ezek. 27. 17.	Pannag.			
29			Crumb	Luke 16. 21.		
30			Morsel . . . ,	Hebr. 12. 16.		
31		Josh. 9. 5.	Mouldy.			
32		Exod. 16. 15.	MANNA	John 6. 31.		
33		Psalm 105. 40.	Bread from heaven.			
34		Psalm 78. 25.	Angel's food.			
35		Deut. 8. 8.	HONEY.			
36			Honeycomb . . .	Luke 24. 42.		
37		Dan. 1. 12.	PULSE.			
38		2 Sam. 17. 28.	Beans.			
39		Gen. 25. 34.	Lentiles.			
40		Gen. 25. 29.	Pottage.			
41		Jonah 4. 6,	GOURD.			
42		2 Kings 4. 39.	Wildgourd.			
43		Isaiah 1. 8,	Cucumber.			
44		Num. 11. 5	Melon.			
45		Prov. 15. 17.	HERBS.			
46		Num. 11. 5.	Onion.			
47		Num. 11. 5.	Leek.			
48		Num. 11. 5.	Garlick.			
49			Mint	Matt. 23. 23.		
50			Rue	Luke 11. 42.		
51			Anise	Matt. 23. 23.		
52			Cummin	Matt. 23. 23.		
53		Cant. 4. 14.	Saffron.			
54		Exod. 16. 31.	Coriander.			
55		Job 30. 4.	Mallows.			
56		Gen. 30. 14.	Mandrakes.			
57		Gen. 37. 25.	Balm.			
58						
59						
60						

It was intended that the missionary when seated among his scholars, learning their language while teaching them "the tongue of immortals," should elicit from them the different meanings of the several words in column 4. The native "scholiasts" soon entered into it, and the missionary would write down their "scholia" in the blank column, 2 or 6, and with this be prepared to translate with idiomatic accuracy the words which occur in the sacred writings, and of which they are the equivalents.

From a MS. catechetical lecture in the bishop's own writing, which has been preserved and is printed *verbatim*, the reader will be able to see how carefully he worked out his own idea from the specimen page of synonyms and references given on the other side.

Lessons on Food, Page 50.

I. MAKING BREAD.

Question on the manner of making bread: From what grain, how made into flour or meal. Explain the uses made of fine flour by the priests under the Jewish law, the measures used by them. Refer to passages describing the offerings of flour, &c., also to the widow's handful of meal and its sufficing her for so long by the power of God given to Elisha. Question on the likeness between that miracle and our Lord's multiplying the loaves and fishes. Lesson to be drawn from these miracles; all food the gift of God, therefore *thanks* must be given to Him whenever we partake of food.

Explain the process of making bread, the need of *leaven* to make it fit for food, the reason of the Israelites carrying away the dough *before* it was leavened, the process of baking, the story of the baker in Genesis, the meaning of bake*meats*, the reason why the word *bread* is used to signify any kind of food and even our whole support; refer to the expressions *staff* and *stay* of bread. Illustrate all the foregoing questions by passages from Scripture.

Explain the wave loaf and its meaning, as a *thank* offering and a sign that the bread is God's gift.)

VARIOUS KINDS OF BREAD.

From 25—30. Explain the several forms of bread here mentioned, the name given to minute fragments, the lesson so frequently given and enforced by our Lord's own example, never to *waste* even the crumbs of food.

32—34. Question on the giving of the manna; why called bread from heaven and angels' food, though coming direct from heaven, yet the manna was no more the gift of God than the bread we eat; *both* are bread from heaven, the one did not want man's own labour, the other does, yet as man's labour must make the wheat grow, is it not truly said that man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from God's mouth? Mention persons who have lived many days without food, or with a very small portion, in proof of the truth of this saying: Moses, Elisha, and our Lord when He became man.

OTHER KINDS OF VEGETABLE FOOD.

35—57. Other kinds of food are here mentioned, passages of Scripture to be found where they are mentioned. Persons who lived on some of these kinds of food and never on *bread*, yet were nourished and strengthened by them. Daniel and his companions, John the Baptist, Jacob's pottage of lentiles, Jonah's gourd, and his discontented complaints at its loss. *Poisonous* food how and when made harmless; the various herbs of which the Pharisees paid tithes.

SPIRITUAL APPLICATION OF THE LESSON ON FOOD.

The soul needs food as much as the body to strengthen and nourish it. As the body becomes weak and sickly if deprived of daily food, so does the soul if without the bread of life. Our Lord is the bread of life, unless by faith we feed on Him in our souls we cannot have eternal life. Explain that as food must be regularly and often taken for the health of the body, so must our prayers for the grace of Christ and for the strengthening power of His body and blood, be constant and earnest. The health of the

body cannot be preserved beyond the time allotted for our lives, but the soul may be nourished unto eternal life. Which then should be our chiefest care? Refer to our Lord's own words, John vi., on labouring for the meat that perisheth; and again to Matt. vi., 25—33. The want of food for the body cannot and does not injure the health of the soul, as is shown in the story of the rich man and Lazarus; the beggar, though suffering from hunger and disease, was yet a partaker of everlasting life, the rich man, who fared sumptuously every day, was eternally miserable. See Matt. xvi., 26.

Explain the words "daily bread" in the Lord's prayer, and refer to our Church Catechism, which teaches us that by those words are meant "all things needful for our souls and bodies." As we are taught that we must labour for the food we eat since the curse passed upon Adam, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread," as God gives nothing without *means*, and ordains that we must work together with Him—not idly expecting Him to supply our wants without our own exertions, so we must labour for the bread from heaven, strive, pray, watch, seek for it, in all the appointed means of grace, in reading God's Word, in worshipping Him, and above all, in partaking of the Lord's Supper. Give examples of persons who like David esteemed the Word of God more than their necessary food, who risked the loss of earthly wealth and plentiful living rather than disobey God or put their souls in danger. Also other examples, or with *warnings* from the history of persons, who, like Esau, for one morsel of meat sold their birthright, *forfeited* their hopes of heaven, for some worldly gain or enjoyment. Refer to all the passages in which our Lord is spoken of as *nourishing* our souls. Show how this can only take place when we are joined to Him; as food cannot do us good if we only *look at it*, so neither can we be nourished by our Lord's grace unless we be joined to Him as mouths to a head, branches to a vine, &c.

CHAPTER X.

[1850-1851.]

WINTER had nearly set in, when, on June 4th, the *Undine* returned to Auckland, having carried back to their native islands the five boys who had spent the summer in the College. On the homeward voyage, full of the sense of the needs of the work, and looking in all directions for helpers, the bishop wrote to a friend at Eton, urging him to do, as he himself did later, dedicate a son to the life of a Missionary :—

"UNDINE" SCHOONER, AT SEA,
Long. 170 E.; Lat. 27 S.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am writing to you in the midst of a majestic thunder-storm, on the bosom of the wide Pacific, and about half-way from New Caledonia, which I have left, and New Zealand, to which I am returning. The little *Undine* is alone on this wide waste of water; yet not alone; for here we see the wonders of God without distraction from the works of man. Your letter of 12th September, 1849, is lying before me, and though you are not a very good correspondent, I have taken it up first out of a heap of forty other letters—a compliment which, I hope, will make you mend your manners for the future. Accept my hearty congratulations on your attainment of the "Jus trium liberorum;" but please to remember, that as you are only a junior assistant, and therefore a "Proletarius," you are bound to hold at least one of your boys liable to military or naval service, at the command of the Bishop of New Zealand, or any other amphibious power invested with the right of conscription. It is not enough that you should

buy inferior substitutes by pecuniary contributions; you have learned and taught Greek Grammar long enough to know that summary of missionary duty, the more forcible, in some respects, as coming from a mere heathen orator,

προθυμίαν δεικτέον εἰσφέροντας ἐξιόντας.

Dedicate your very best boy to the mission work; and, without forcing his inclination, lead him steadily to look upon a wild hill in New Caledonia as a more noble post than a Fellowship at Eton, or even the Provostship of Kings. For such it is. What man in his sober senses, and with his Demosthenes before him, to say nothing of the Bible, would sit down in the prime of life with the deliberate purpose of spending a quarter of a century, like ——— ——, in collecting butterflies. And yet there are butterflies too in New Caledonia, glorious butterflies, which flew across my path as I climbed up a lovely waterfall at Weine, on the east coast of that Island, radiant with the deepest blue, and as large as dragon-flies. Did I catch one? Not I; I would not catch, much less impale upon a pin, that type of the Immortality of the Soul, especially in a country where man is still in the grub, and waiting to be adorned, like those bright insects, with wings of silver and feathers like gold. When will the day of bursting come to all these human chrysalides in these dark islands? May one of your sons be there to see a whole pagan nation spring up out of the ground, and mount up on the wings of the converted soul. I have no better wish for him or for you, than that he may be a zealous evangelist, and that you, when you are dazed and flattened by your work, may be lightened and leavened by the report of God's blessing upon his labours. Do not suppose that I undervalue your present duties, but understand me to mean only that παιδαγωγία and παιδοποιΐα are both vain, unless they send forth more labourers into Christ's harvest field.

Your affectionate Friend,
G. A. New Zealand.

His experiences on this voyage with mingled humour and pathos the bishop recounted in a letter to his frequent correspondent, the Rev. E. Coleridge:—

JENGEN, NEW CALEDONIA,
Lat. 20.40. East Coast.
May 17*th*, 1850.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

WHEN I am put out of my present stewardship by Joseph Hume, or any other potentate, I shall hope to have the offer of the Mastership of the Remove at Eton, that blissful region which enjoys a monopoly of the little knowledge of geography, which the school possesses. My stock is daily increasing, as you will find to your cost by the list of outlandish names, unknown to Arrowsmith and to Wylde, which stand at the head of my letters. You will wish me back again at one of those modern examples of "fanum putre Vacunæ," Boveney Chapel or Dorney Church, as a relief from the annoyance of a correspondent, who carries you beyond the limits of all existing Gazetteers. Well, then, my dear friend, comfort your heart with the thought, no matter where I am, that I am still the same friend, who lived next door to you in Keate's Lane, where we were wont *οαρίζεμεν ἀλλήλοισι*, as you went to and fro about your work, and as I looked out of the window for the lack of work. Be sure that "my heart untravelled still returns to you;" and that no foreign travel, unconnected with duty, would ever compensate me for the removal from Eton. I would rather be at the Weir than at Niagara; in Poet's Walk rather than at Helicon; and in your "lane of Hems!!" rather than on the Bridge of Sighs. But when travel comes with a duty for its motive, how enjoyable it then is. If I could have wafted you during the last week to the calm, sunny, blue waters of these reef lagoons, with the bright green and tree-bespangled hills of New Caledonia towering over the topmasts of my consort, H.M.S. *Fly*, how truly and sympathetically we should have enjoyed the combination of everything that is highest in interest, or brighest in colouring, or most graceful in form, or most majestic in size. But this may not be, till modern science shall have attained to the utmost limit of locomotive power, by enabling the electric telegraph to carry passengers as well as messages. Surely New Caledonia is a lovely country. Such waterfalls as I saw yesterday, such rocky piles and minarets of dark grey stone as I am now surrounded by; such a river as I have rowed into this afternoon, with tufted groves of cocoa-nuts sheltering the

neatest bee-hive houses, and hanging gardens of yams and taro on the heights; and dingles of dark wood, which tell where the hidden watercourse has fed the trees during the scorching heat; and bright green mountains towering over all, and running up into the deep blue sky, as if to teach us how prodigal nature is of her charms, to waste them thus upon eyes which cannot discern beauty, and hearts which cannot admire it.

But believe me that it is not true that "only man is vile." This race of men are not vile; but, as Cook found them, the most friendly people in the world. How could they be vile, for whom Christ paid the price of His blood? How can they be vile to us, who have been taught by God not to call any man common or unclean? I quarrel with the current phrases of the "poor heathen," and the "perishing savages," *et id genus omne.* Far poorer and more ready to perish may be those men of Christian countries who have received so much, and can account for so little. Poorest of all may we be ourselves, who, as stewards and ministers of the Grace of God, are found so unfaithful in our stewardship. To go among the heathen as an equal and a brother is far more profitable than to risk that subtle kind of self-righteousness, which creeps into the mission work, akin to the thanking God that we are not as other men are. Who can say, that the heathen are more guilty because they have not the Gospel, than we who have received that Gospel, and of whom its fruits will be required?

I am now far advanced in my second round of inspection, for it is nothing more at present, of this Melanesian field. I am waiting for the opening of the door which is now just creaking on its hinges. I wrote to you an explanatory letter from Anaiteum in August last;[1] and I need only now add, that a second course of observation over the same field has confirmed the impressions under which that letter was written: and that I have now no reasonable doubt of the gradual success of a steady, persevering, and faithful effort to evangelize the "mingled peoples" who have flowed forth among these islands from every story and every window of Babel. Our Propaganda is already begun, and it is time that it should be; for on

[1] P. 286.

the little deck of the *Undine*, I have had at the same moment the representatives of ten languages or dialects. Here they are to send you again, "pertusum terebrare salinum," to bore yourself by poring into Arrowsmith for salt which you will not find—

1. English.
2. New Zealand.
3. Samoan, Navigators'.
4. Rarotonga.
5. Mare } Loyalty Islands.
6. Lifu }
7. New Caledonia—one out of many.
8. Anaiteum. }
9. Tanna. } New Hebrides.
10. Futuna. }

Was not that an ethnographical feast to be all collected in a cabin 12 feet by 8?

> "Five and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie,
> And when the pie was opened the birds began to sing,"

a literal fact for eight of the above languages, exactly twenty-five "black birds" in all, with ten white ones, were baked, boiled, and stewed in the *Undine* for two days between Tanna and Anaiteum in bad weather; and I promise you, that when the pie was opened the birds did begin to sing; and I the ἔποψ of the party at least as heartily as the rest. The occasion was the restoration to their country of fifteen Anaiteum men, who had been taken to Tanna, and the removal of the families of some native missionaries from Samoa and Rarotonga, whom we found ill at Tanna. However, I have never yet felt anything equal to the cabin of the *Victorine*, a French egg-boat, in which I once crossed from Cherbourg to Southampton, and with this assumed datum of discomfort, everything that I now meet with stands higher in the scale. You will say that this is poor comfort, but try it before you reject my panacea for every evil of life.

Your truly affectionate
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

Two months later the long hoped-for presence of Mr. Abraham was an accomplished fact. It seemed almost

too good to be true; and in the fulness of his heart the Bishop wrote words of greeting out of a full heart on Mr. Abraham's arrival in Auckland Harbour:—

St. John's College, Auckland,
July 24th, 1850.

My very dear Friend,—

And now dearer than ever—welcome to hearts large enough to hold you, and to houses small enough to pinch you, that between the largeness of heart-room, and the narrowness of house-room, you may enjoy that happy mean of comfort and discomfort, which represents most truly our state of trial on earth. Lose not one moment in coming to us, either by land or water. Captain Rough will point out to you the best way of proceeding, either by crossing at once to the College Creek, or by going to the Chief Justice at Taurarua, from which the College Force, ἄνδρες τ' ἠίθεοί τε καὶ εἰλίποδες ἕλικες βοῦς, will fetch you and your baggage, as soon as we hear of your arrival.

Your truly affectionate and ever
Grateful Friend,
G. A. New Zealand.

With Mr. Abraham at the head of the College, and subsequently acting as Archdeacon of the district of Waitemata, the bishop felt more free to devote a larger measure of care to the remote parts of the diocese. First impressions of a place have always the charm and freshness of novelty, even though experience may clothe them with more sober colours; but in the estimate and judgments formed of such a man as Bishop Selwyn, seen, after a separation of many years, day by day in the midst of the institutions which his own genius had created and moulded, the first impressions of devoted friends, whom personal affection had led to throw in their lot with him and with his work have no common interest.

These "first impressions" are graphically given by a lady in the following letter: her husband contributed his impressions some three weeks later in the second letter that is here printed:—

St. John's College, Auckland, New Zealand,
Thursday, August 29th, 1850.

My dear——

You will hear from my sisters of our safe arrival here on the 6th of this month, and something of our first impressions; and I dare say if you like it, you will see the daily details of our life at the college during the last three weeks, so I am not going to repeat these things now; but to give you, as far as I can, the result of our first view of all around us, while it is fresh and lively, and to trace, as far as I can, the likeness of the reality to the picture and imagination which we have so long had before the mind's eye, and so often talked of with you. I used to think that when we were here

"Although 'tis fair,
'Twill be another Yarrow;"

but it is, I think, both within and without, strangely like one's fancy and conception of what it would be; so much so that our first evening with the Martins at Taurarua was so true to one's fancy of such evenings, that I was continually asking myself whether it was not all a vision of fancy, instead of a real scene before one's bodily eye and ear. And so also when we accompanied the Bishop and Sarah home next day. Everything was so like one's imagination of it, that I became quite bewildered at first. Now we have settled down quite into a "homy" feeling and habit as to the reality of our existence here and all around us, which will soon absorb all former ideals of the place, and the community, and the work; and even now I wish I could hear your questions, in order that I might know on what points to enlighten you. First, however, as to the Master mind, the great founder, the humble lowly worker of all. Is he still what he was when he left us? —What we have believed him to be all these years while the world was between us?—What do we find him?—*All that he was; all that we believed; all that you can understand better than any one can describe.* You can feel, too, the glow of heart, the deep joy it is to feel this, day by day pressed home to one's conviction, and unveiled before one's eyes in all the soberness of truth and reality. To find, as my husband says, "that it was not any mere fancy,

any imaginary greatness and goodness, with which memory and friendship had invested him in absence, but that he is in his simple, unvarnished reality, more than all he had thought and trusted to and reverenced for these nine years past. You can think how happy it is whenever we are alone together, to hear him sum up all he told me of their converse, with such thoughts as these, and with the thankful expression of his sense of the blessedness of our own lot in being thus made members of a 'Holy House;' and of the way in which Bishop Andrewes' words came home to one now with an individual appropriation of the thought, as well as an intercessory petition for others in our own land, which we have been wont to associate with the expression, especially in this day's (Thursday's) prayer. As Charles says, the singleness of purpose, the entire devotion of himself and all he is, and all he has—the entire renunciation of self and all belonging to him in comparison with the duty and the object of the present moment, is so shown forth in his daily life, so transparently open to all who have eyes to see and hearts to receive the witness of such an example, that one must be dead and dull indeed not to feel continually the all-pervading power of such a life. And great, indeed, must be the responsibility of living thus in the light, as the lesson of our first Sunday here seemed to teach in the warning of Gehazi's sin, —that a man might live in a prophet's house and serve him, who is a servant of God, and yet have a worldly heart and spirit.

Gradually, however, as we hear more and more, and see the real state of things here, how much what is planted must need time to grow, and how he is obliged to wait and lay by, as it were, for the periods of renewed action; and still more, as one feels that he is *the one man* to pioneer the way and lay foundations, as all this comes to one—my husband owns that he "cannot gainsay or resist the wisdom with which he speaks," though he is thankful to find the judge quite joins with him in his feeling that a drag-chain rather than a spur is needed on his favourite Melanesian Mission; and is disposed to watch his widening schemes in that direction with a zealous regard for this country, which (as he agrees with Charles) must after all be the real battle-field in behalf of the coloured race, and

also with anxiety for the personal health and safety of the bishop himself, which they all feel is certainly risked in each one of these voyages. It is some satisfaction to find that the chief and most influential means which he looks to for the accomplishment of the object, is the education of youths from these islands at this college, and not to the planting of mission stations in the islands themselves. The great varieties of language amongst them is a bar to this, and points rather, as he thinks, to the need of gathering them together from all parts, and teaching them English, and so making our tongue the missionary language, as the Roman was in former days; a conclusion, as you will see, very different from that which he upholds so strenuously for this country, where the speech is one, the needs of mastering the language, in order to reach the people in this generation; while he would do his best to teach English to the rest. I do not wonder at the hold these islands have upon him, after hearing his stories of his intercourse amongst them, and especially about the boys he had here last summer, and whom he hopes to fetch again when the climate makes it safe. One little fellow from Lifu especially, who was like a child in this house to him and Sarah, and a brother to Johnnie, and whom they nursed so tenderly in his sickness, the bishop earnestly hopes may return again. You will hear more about this little Thol; and if a letter reaches Willy from his father, as I trust it will—in which he tells him of his parting with the little fellow when he took him home last April—how they went apart into the copse wood, and how Thol knelt down and said the Lord's Prayer, and a little prayer for Johnnie; and how he begged him to come back again and fetch him. Johnnie talks about his little companion still, and how he used to say that Johnnie should go home with him, and his mother would carry him about on her back and give him sugar-cane.

. . . . . .

You should hear his stories of the quiet way in which he walks through any mention of State interference and ecclesiastical law, apart from Church authority. They would amuse you greatly; such as his refusal at Wellington to marry an English gentleman to a Jewess (the civil form, or the Jewish, being open to him), or to open the

burial-ground of the Church of England to all denominations (the only reason why they desired it being to save the expense of fencing the ground allotted to themselves). How quietly in both instances, when the legal penalties attached to the refusal were alluded to, he replied by a common-sense protest against the introduction into a new country of the burthens and precedents of the old (especially in regard to the Church which had no State aid here, but which would flourish, he doubted not, under persecution), which were found to work ill even there; while he expressed his readiness to submit to the sentence of the law, playfully remarking, "that after weeks in his tiny schooner at sea, the prison-rooms would be spacious, and the prison fare luxurious, and the leisure of a few weeks to write letters and do business, rather a boon than otherwise." You can fancy how this sort of appeal turns off and disarms objection, and how he walks through opposition of this kind, like a giant rejoicing to run his course. . . . . .

If he can ever find time to put on paper all his thoughts and plans for the college and its foundation in a system, I think there would spring out of it his earnest view of the duty of the Church as to education: that the clergy must take it into their own hands by doing the work. "Deacon schoolmasters all over England would make speeches and agitation at Willis's Rooms needless," he says; and I believe if anything brought him back to England, that is the crusade which he would preach and lead; that, and an Episcopate of "500*l.* a year bishops," given to hospitality, and not "clothing flunkeys in purple." These are the two points on which all our conversation on home affairs ends. These, with the restoration of Cathedral Institutions to their true objects, are the burden of his song; and I believe he thinks, if the Church will not arise and work out this reformation in herself, that the scourge will chastise her into a better mind.

St. John's College, Auckland,
Sept. 16*th*, 1850.

My dear Dr. Hawtrey,

If I have deferred writing to you among my letters to Eton friends, it was because I thought you would be most interested in hearing of the bishop, and Mrs. Selwyn, and

of my college life—not that I have forgotten you or yours, and all your kind interest in us. Indeed, Eton and its people are bound up in my "bundle of life," in a way that I hope will never admit of loosening. To tell you the truth, there is nothing that pains me more in my brief acquaintance with the people in Sydney and here, generally speaking, than their utter lack of sympathy or interest in England and English life. The bishop, and Judge Martin, and my colleague, Mr. Lloyd, are the only men that have a heart large enough to contain much beyond the local interests of the colony. I should add, however, the Governor, who is really a large-hearted, large-minded man —a thorough gentleman, whom it is a positive pleasure to meet and know. He was an old Sandhurst cadet and student, and consequently we have many points of *rapport*, and besides is a literary man, and takes delight in many studies which I could wish I were more versed in, but can only profess interest about. Your handsome present of French Mathematics has delighted him exceedingly.

The bishop and myself are the only persons in the colony almost that possess libraries; and the taste for such things has to be created, as at present a mere utilitarian idea of education prevails. Perhaps, for the purposes of the settlers here and the clergy, a practical education is the best suited, and I must confess that I quite quail before the attainments of some of my scholars, who will make most valuable missionaries among natives, and round a "sea-girt isle." Only conceive what a thoroughly *αὐτάρκης* man will be formed out of a boy who, at the age of 19 knows more Divinity than most of the boys at Eton in the Sixth Form, who is thoroughly acquainted with French and Maori; and as there are some of the former people here as settlers, this is an *utilitarian* acquirement, as well as a literary one. He is a good musician, and able to teach the natives singing—a good mathematician, and able to sail the *Undine* from hence to the New Hebrides and back—taking sights and managing the rigging, &c. He is gentle withal and humble, and the only thing I desiderate in him is a little *life*, and somewhat of the quickness of an Eton boy. That is the most trying part of my school duties. After the alertness of an Eton boy's mind, it requires some patience to see the sluggishness of the

colonial movement. Of course none of them are *scholars* in our sense of the word; they devote too little time to mere scholarship, having to pay for their support by bodily work (for none of their parents can or will pay for them), so that two hours a day, four times a week, is all a boy gets of school. He is either printing, or farming, or weaving, or digging, or making shoes, &c., the rest of his time. Altogether, it is a strange life we lead here. I am sure I never realized it before I came, and I suppose I thought about it as much as most people at Eton; but I will try and put you in possession of our principle and practice; and when I say *our*, I mean the bishop's,—for only his vast head and noble heart could conceive and execute so complicated a plan.

The first generation of converts to Christianity is passing off rapidly from this scene, and the middle-aged folk now are very nominal Christians indeed. They have abandoned cannibalism certainly, and the horrors of frequent war, thank God; but their moral and religious state is very questionable. The old chief, close by us, is a heathen, for example, and he and many of his people point to the bad lives of the Christian people as their stumbling-block—just as people at home point to the bad lives of the communicants as a reason for their not becoming so themselves. The fact is, that they are not educated; they are instructed a little, but all their *habits* are heathenish. The bishop was told by the missionaries, that it was impossible and visionary to attempt to break through these habits. His faith was too great to allow him to leave it unattempted, and his perseverance too strong to be easily deterred or baffled. He established the college, to which he draws as many as he can afford, which is only fifty—for the funds from England have failed this last year or two by 1,000*l*. He first has a native school for children (it stands about 100 yards from this; his house, and the chapel is between us). There are twenty or twenty-five of these little brown mice, living in a wooden Swiss-like cottage, with a master (a candidate for Holy Orders) and an assistant—one of the scholars, nineteen or twenty years of age—to look after them. They learn English, arithmetic, singing, writing, and Scripture—dig in the garden, and keep the kitchen-garden in order—make and mend their own clothes, which are not

extensive, a suit of Nottingham drill, *i.e.* a pair of trousers and a little smock-frock, and a shirt. They are guiltless of shoes and stockings. When they are 13 or 14 years of age, they are drafted off into the labour departments (to which about twenty-five more belong, and live in different houses, under the superintendence of students), and become either bakers or cooks, weavers or shoemakers, carpenters or farmers, &c., attending school half the day, and working the other half at their trade or occupation.

We are fortunate enough to have a good kind of people about us in the college establishment, to superintend these departments. We have, for instance, living close by, opposite the college, an old pensioner, who was a weaver; then the farmer is an excellent man, who failed rather on his own account, and is glad to conduct our farm, which he does admirably. It is to the interest of every one of these departments to make the members work, as the firm receives two-thirds of the profits, after all the expenses are paid, the other third going to the college general account.

At 7 o'clock A.M. we all meet at chapel, and the service is partly chanted; the natives know enough English to chant the *Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, &c. You know how deeply I felt the need of such a commencement of every day at Eton, and yet how inexpedient I felt it to have all the school compulsorily in our *whole* service, without the relief of music. The bishop authorises here a curtailed service, and, as Ordinary, suits it to our wants and circumstances. At half-past 7 they all breakfast in hall—from 9 to 10, religious instruction—from 10 to 2, different classes, either for study or work. I have the scholars and candidates for Holy Orders, in the Bishop's absence. At 2, hall—we all dine together. There is an upper table for the clergy and ladies: the different departments dine together, presided over by their foreman, at different tables—plain, good, wholesome fare. From 4 to 6, school, or work—at 6, tea in hall—7, chapel. The evening is their own for reading, &c. I found that they had not been in the habit of preparing their lessons for school, but learnt them in school. I have introduced the goodly Eton practice; and so get an extra subject done, and less idleness and gossip in the evenings.

Of course, in the above account, farmers and carpenters

cannot break off their work for school; so they have two whole days devoted to school—the rest to work.

The attachment of the natives to the bishop is wonderful: they fully appreciate his care for them. Some ill-conditioned English people were trying to poison their minds the other day, about his having so much *land* here, while he forbad the clergy to purchase land for themselves. They saw the fallacy in a moment. One lad cried out, "Ah! but the Pihopa does not buy the land for Willy and Johnny, but for 'tatou katoa' (*us all*); while the other Pakehas buy for their Willies and Johnnies."

Apropos of Willy and Johnny, you will all be delighted to hear that Mrs. Selwyn has a little girl, born on the 5th of this month—both mother and child are doing well. It was a great comfort to us that she was born before the bishop left us for Sydney, on the 7th, to attend the Synod of Bishops. . . . .

I have been very little away from the college, and hardly know any of the people at Auckland. . . . .

The bishop will now be able to move about his diocese, or visit the Northern Isles with more confidence and comfort. He is certainly more aged than I at first fancied, but Mrs. Selwyn looks much the same. . . . . I must not omit to tell you and my Eton friends, that we have bought 300 acres of land round the college, with some of the *Scholarship* Endowment, you all so kindly founded—and it takes in a fresh-water lake, with the auspicious name of Waiata Rua, "the two Psalms." *Gentem faciemus utramque Unam animis.*

Believe me ever,
Your attached and grateful Friend,
C. J. Abraham.

In September the bishop went to Sydney to take part in the Synod of the Bishops of Australasia, who, six in number, took counsel together concerning the condition of their dioceses; it was the first foreshadowing of that Provincial Organization which in Canada and in Southern Africa, as well as in New Zealand, has since been wisely consolidated, and has done so much for the peace as well as for the progress of the Church. In Australia itself,

which witnessed the first essay at such organization, the advance has not been either assured or rapid. A variety of causes may be assigned; but foremost among them is an inadequate conception of the spiritual character of the Church, which has been fostered by an admiration of Letters Patent and State connexion, which lingers and helplessly yearns for such perilous possessions, even long after they have been finally withdrawn. What the bishop thought of the prospects of the Synod and its importance, and how largely it was indebted to him for its existence and for its results, may be gathered from a passage in a letter written on board the *Undine* on August 31st, and by a study of the official Report of the proceedings:—

"I am just on the point of setting out on a most interesting errand, to meet the Bishops of the Australian Province at Sydney on the 1st October. We have many important subjects to consider, among others the formation of a 'Board of Missions' for the dark and almost unknown Archipelago, into the skirts of which I have thrice penetrated, and the third time with some clear hope of success, by the introduction from the five scholars whom I carried back in May last to the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia. I hope to interest the sister Churches in the same work, of which I am willing, if required, to take the active part, if they will supply me with the funds. Very soon there will be nothing in me but will 'suffer a sea change.' May my sacrifice be salted with salt, and with fire. Pray for me, from your equally missionary position, as one amongst thousands who scarcely know God."

On his voyage to Australia the bishop's thoughts were not wholly absorbed by the coming Synod: they were largely given to his diocese, and in the interests of his nascent College at Porirua he thus wrote to his brother-in-law, Dr. Peacock:—

To the Very Rev. the Dean of Ely.

"Moa" Brig, at Sea,
Lat. 34. S.; Long. 164. E.
Sept. 13*th*, 1850.

My dear Brother,

Your ready acceptance of the office of προξενος for one of my "twins of learning," scarcely yet born, emboldens me to write to you again and communicate some further particulars of the plan of Trinity College, Porirua. And first I must remove an objection raised chiefly by members of my own family, that I am attempting too much.

To this I answer that those who assigned to me all New Zealand as my diocese must bear the blame of this, for I cannot see any part of my diocese destitute of the means of obtaining "sound learning and religious education" without making an effort to supply the defect.

There is little or no communication between Auckland and Wellington: each town therefore requires its own distinct institutions.

I have devoted much money, time, and effort to the establishment of St. John's College; and I am now able to leave it with comfort and satisfaction in the hands of two trustworthy presbyters, Rev. J. F. Lloyd and Rev C. J. Abraham. Under these circumstances I consider myself bound to do as much as I can, during the next few years, for the southern settlements.

Experience has proved that collegiate institutions must be set on foot very early in the outset of a colony, or the difficulty, as at Sydney, will be found almost insuperable.

We have abundant experience of the willingness of friends in England and in New Zealand to assist in founding such institutions, as we have already at St. John's an estate of 1,000 acres, buildings to the value of 5,000*l.*, and stock of various kinds, by which our expenses are already much reduced. The name of Trinity College, Porirua, was no sooner announced, than Mr. Harrington, secretary to the New Zealand Company, gave 300 guineas towards the endowment fund.

But the immediate cause of the early establishment (if early it can be called) of Porirua College, was the good-will and zeal of my native scholars of the Ngatiraukawa

tribe, who, having spent twelve months at St. John's, even while we were still in the roughest state, were so satisfied of the goodness of our *intentions*, that they voluntarily gave 500 acres of land, in the place which of all others I should have chosen, as the site of a college for "the English and native youth, to be brought up together in the new principles of obedience to the Queen, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

This latter clause is a literal translation of the words of the native grant, dictated by the donors themselves.

Right or wrong then I have been led into this undertaking, without any seeking of my own; and now in the words of Bishop Bull—

"IN I AM, AND ON I MUST."

The most emphatic monosyllables that ever were written; and most applicable to the state of a Bishop of New Zealand.

The first part of the plan has already gone to England for the consideration of the trustees of the Wellington Endowment Fund, and contains a proposal for investing 4,000*l.*, on the security of the college lands and buildings.

The college must take its distinctive character from the definition contained in the grant of the land. It must be for the benefit of the English and native race. This involves the necessity of an industrial foundation; for it seems to be generally agreed, that the native race are not yet ripe for a system, in which their whole time would be devoted to study alone.

By an industrial foundation, I mean, an organized system of useful arts, printing, weaving, carpentering, farming, &c., to which select youths of both races may be bound in the usual manner, but with the understanding that a definite portion of their time shall be left free for instruction. We find at St. John's that a boy of eighteen can maintain himself at college as a printer by working five hours a day; and we expect them to bestow five hours more upon their own improvement in learning.

This is the point from which we begin; and is in fact the servitor system as adapted to the wants of a new colony, and especially to one in which there are two distinct races. The rule of industry is binding, in some

form or other, upon all members of the foundation, but is regulated in its application by due regard to the physical and mental qualities of the scholars.

We have not yet arrived at the second stage of development, but we are looking forward to the addition of an order of "oppidans," or "commoners," who may live in private houses under their own tutors, and enjoy the full benefit of the All-Souls' statute, being allowed to be "*bene vestiti* and *mediocriter docti*." We shall probably not admit them into the college hall, but allow them, as at Eton, to dine with their own tutors, in such luxurious manner as the parents may be willing to pay for; but without the power to make our college fare contemptible by the side of their better-furnished tables. These separate houses will in fact be smaller colleges, where the tutors will cater for the public taste, with as much freedom as may be compatible with the general statutes of the whole collegiate body. At Eton there are three grades—

Master's House,
Dames' Houses,
College:

all conducted on different scales of expense.

All the students will be united in one general system of academical instruction, and public examination. You must not think that I am resting these plans upon pure theory, for my own short experience has supplied the following facts in favour of the industrial system as a preparation for Holy Orders.

I have ordained—

2 Country Settlers,
2 Farmers,
1 Printer,
1 Weaver,
1 Spinner,

besides three medical men. I am not therefore inventing a new plan, but only endeavouring to give full effect to a course of events which I found already in progress. The only difference between us and the old universities in his respect will be, that we shall at once place all our

poor scholars in some working department instead of giving them exhibitions in money or commons before their ability or industry has been sufficiently proved. All trades alike, and all the oppidan or commoner students, will have equal access to the college examinations, and through them to the Theological Studentships.

You may accept my assurance that, if you will kindly interest yourself and your Trinity friends in this plan, you will never find me exceed in any respect the amount which may be available in England. I say this in self-defence, as I have lost my character with Letitia and Fanny, who look upon me as an inveterate spendthrift. As I have the opposite character in the colony, I can strike a mean between the two extremes of my character, as contrasted at the antipodes. The truth is, that with five large settlements all craving for everything, I have never been able hitherto to prevent the local trustees from spending more than their allowance. But I have now taken effectual means to prevent this excess for the future.

The scholarships at St. John's College are now *ten* in number, endowed with sums of from 500*l.* to 700*l.* each. This in itself may be taken as a proof that it is better to begin early. Five years produce but little effect in our slow operations; but to have laid such a foundation is no inconsiderable help for the future. . . . .

I am now on my way to meet the Bishops of the Australian Province in Synod on the 1st October. After that, God willing, I must visit Mr. Enderby in his antarctic principality, and return by Stewart's Island, Otokou, Akaroa, Port Cooper, Wellington, and Nelson.

A grand campaign in New Caledonia is in store, God willing, for next winter.

I remain,

Your affectionate brother,

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

On the same voyage he wrote another letter full of interest to the Rev. E. Coleridge.

"UNDINE" SCHOONER, AT SEA,
Sept. 2nd, 1850.

MY DEAR AND INEXHAUSTIBLE FRIEND,

If ever letter from you was precious to me, you may be sure it was the one which Abraham brought to me in person, to enhance a pleasure which in itself scarcely admitted of increase. . . . .

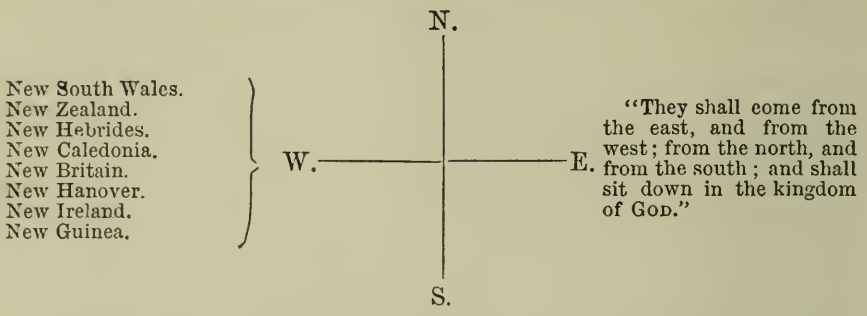
Though your letter was chiefly on matters of business, yet friendship in you is so practical, that even details of money matters evince the fulness of your affection. By spending every shilling that I could get, and cutting down everything like an expense to the lowest point, I have just been able to receive Abraham and Lloyd into an institution, which has enough in it, I hope, to show, in working-model, its spirit and principle, though still far short, of course, of its possible development, the extent of which is incalculable. With what joy and thankfulness I have seen those two good men, my rose and shamrock, twine themselves together in conference, and vie with one another which should do most to root up the thistles, moral and material, which have grown up in my path! They seem to feel them more than I do, for I am so accustomed to them, I suppose, that

"Similes habent labra lactucas,"

as Cato, *ἀπὰξ γελάσας*, said when he saw an ass eating thistles; and from familiarity with such food, I have ceased in some degree to feel the prickles. But I am conscious sometimes, that a mind upon which physical difficulties make little impression, has been worn by continual conflict with minds incapable of even understanding the principle of the work in which they are engaged. If England wishes to waste men in her colonial bishoprics, let her continue to send them out without a staff of competent assistants; and then feed them with the disciples of fifth-rate grammar and middle schools, in which class of men, the lowest order of attainment is usually found in combination with the highest standard of assumption. My imprisoned sorrow, of which I have rarely complained before, breaks out thus in thankfulness, now that its day is past, and the comfort has come.

And now, my dear friend, as you will have received my

letter from Anaijom, think what you can do, as for our Board of Missions, for the benefit of all the "*News.*"



I hope to bring the subject before the Australasian Synod; and draw resources if possible from all the dioceses. . . .

If you could have seen the joy and greeting when we took the lads back in the second voyage from which I returned (God be thanked) on the 8th of June last! It was evident at once that I was free of the islands, and could walk where I pleased, or row about in the little two-oared boat of the *Undine,* with that intuitive feeling of security, which is never felt, I believe, without good reason; and which is the greatest comfort to a cautious old married man like myself. It would take a whole volume to tell you how the mind comes to repose entire confidence in some "savages," and to feel no such confidence in others; and in the meantime, for want of better information, I must leave you to the lucubrations of Robertson, who moralized about savage nature, sitting in an easy-chair at Glasgow or Edinburgh, with about as much truth as might be expected under the circumstances.

You will be amused to hear of my growing friendliness with the London Mission. Think of Stoughton[1] and me as reconciled at length. Not that I take part in their religious system, but I cannot deny to their agents the acknowledgment of faithful service, nor withhold from them the right hand of friendship. But I am most drawn to them by their native teachers, men, who even in the infancy of their Faith, have left home and friends, to live amongst men of another speech, and in the lowest depths of barbarism, as the pioneers of the Gospel to prepare a

[1] Mr. Stoughton was minister of the Independent congregation at Windsor when Mr. Selwyn was curate of the parish church.

way by which the English missionary may enter and take possession. Forty martyrs, men, women, and children, from Samoa and Rarotonga, have lost their lives by disease and violence, in the New Hebrides, and in the New Caledonian group; every one of whom was as worthy of the name as the martyr of Erromango, or the French bishop who died at Ysabel. My feelings are so strong and so full of affection towards these faithful men, with whom the affinity of the New Zealand tongue enables me to communicate freely, that I lose no opportunity of showing them kindness. In the last voyage, an unusual opportunity was afforded me.

While we were lying at Anaiteum waiting for H.M.S. *Fly*, the chiefs of the island came to me with an earnest request that I would go to the neighbouring island of Tanna to fetch some of their people, who had gone over in a trading vessel and had not returned. They had begun to be uneasy about them, and any report of the death of one of them would, by native custom, have led to the strangling of his wife. They offered many *pigs* as payment for the service. I told them that I valued their missionary (Mr. Geddie from Nova Scotia) more than their pigs; and that his word would probably prevail. Mr. Geddie made the application and volunteered to go with me in person. We had a pleasant night voyage down the trade wind, guided by the light of the blazing volcano of Tanna, and at dawn of day ran into the now familiar harbour of Port Resolution. Here my breakfast-party was that feast of "tongues," which I have described to Dr. Hawtrey, as the chief ethnographer at Eton. We soon found our Anaiteum friends, who had been long waiting for an opportunity to return and crowded on board.

But a new need of our assistance had occurred, which we had not foreseen. Two of the native teachers, whom I had seen in the last voyage, had died, and another was in a critical state of sickness with fever and ague. The poor survivor's face brightened up with thankfulness, when he came on board with Mr. Geddie to be removed to Anaiteum. His wife and child and the widow of one of the deceased teachers, with fifteen Anaiteums formed the addition to our party, with whom we were to beat back, as well as we could, against the tradewind to Anaiteum. Our party was distributed thus:—

CABIN.

Bishop and three scholars of St. John's College	4
Mr. Geddie	1
Two women and one child	3
Sick teacher	1
	9

HOLD.

One New Zealander	1
Five New Caledonians	5
Fifteen Anaiteums	15
	30

FORECASTLE.

Four seamen	4
TOTAL	34

I fear that we transgressed such navigation laws as are left, by carrying more passengers than we are allowed for our size; but there was no help for it. It cost us forty-eight hours of hard beating to get back to Anaiteum where we found the *Fly* at anchor.

Mr. Geddie was dubbed a chief of the first rank, and invited to live and die (that is be naturalized) on the island. I received neither thanks nor pigs; though I have no doubt they felt the one and would have given the other. . . . .

All our short voyages (such as the one from which I am now returning round the Frith of the Thames, to assist a new missionary, Mr. Lanfear, in conducting his adult baptisms) are performed without any extra cost, as our own scholars form the crew under the direction of Champion, whom I impose upon them, with rather more necessity than appeared to us in the case of the cads who presided formerly, uniting "*otium cum dignitate*," over the lower boats. My present party is—

STARBOARD WATCH.

The Bishop.
N. Hector, Appleyard Scholar.
E. Hammond, Associate Printer.

PORT WATCH.

Champion.
J. Wilson, Maria Blackett Scholar.
S. Taiwhanga, Maori Carpenter.

STEWARD.

Simeon Mataku, Maori Scholar.

You would enjoy thoroughly this quiet sailing, with a pleasant anchorage at some native village every night, and a willing congregation and docile catechumens at all times. Now and then we get a good blow to make a variety, as we did last Tuesday, when we lost a boat, which was towing astern, in a sudden squall. But the balance is decidedly in favour of enjoyment, in this, as in all other parts of the New Zealand ministries. I am the more free to enjoy these blessings, as I did not seek them.

It was impossible to make another voyage to the islands this year; Captain Erskine, however, in H.M.S. *Havannah*, penetrated as far north as the Solomon Islands, and brought back to the Bishop's College four boys, one from the Solomon Islands, two from Erromango, and one from Fate.

The Synod met on October 1, and sat for a month. They published a report of their proceedings, of which Mr. Keble said that it would be "one of the most remarkable documents of our times." It was a period of much tension. The Mother Church had but recently suffered the grievous wrong done to her by the "Gorham Judgment," and men's minds were much unsettled: in the colonies the validity of Letters Patent had come under such suspicion that no bishop liked to put them to the test: free constitutions were being given to our colonies, under which no religious body had the pre-eminence, and each had to trust to its own strength,—the Sects to the wealth and personal influence and weight of the individuals that composed them, the Church to her divine and inherent strength.

The bishops were in fact driven to act on the advice which Mr. Gladstone had given in the preceding year to all Colonial Churches, that in view of the rapid removal of the seeming support of the civil power they should "organize themselves on that basis of voluntary consensual compact which was the basis on which the Church of Christ rested from the first."

Before the bishop left New Zealand to attend the Synod in Australia he had received—without surprise but with entire sympathy—an address signed by the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and all the most thoughtful of the laity, praying that the Church might be constituted in some way that would secure to her the power to manage her own affairs, and that in any such constitution the laity might have their full weight. The matter will be dealt with in subsequent pages, when the history of the Synodal action of New Zealand is traced: it is mentioned here as an event that must find its proper place chronologically.

Doubts as to the limits of the Queen's supremacy led the assembled bishops to refrain from exercising the powers of an ecclesiastical Synod on the present occasion, but they affirmed the necessity of provincial and diocesan Synods, of the subdivision of dioceses and the election of bishops without interference on the part of the secular power, of the laity being represented in each Synod, and consulting and deciding with the clergy on all questions affecting the temporalities of the Church. They disclaimed all wish to exercise the arbitrary power possessed by bishops to suspend and revoke at their discretion the licences of clergymen, and affirmed that in all cases of ecclesiastical offences bishops should be tried by the Bishops of the Province, and priests or deacons by the Synod of the Diocese: neither did they fall into the vulgar error, so dominant in England, which assumes that only the clergy are liable to spiritual discipline, for they provided for spiritual admonition, and, this failing,

for the exclusion from Holy Communion, and, in the last resort, for the excommunication of persons living in notorious sin.

The bishops put forth, for the comfort of the faithful, a declaration of the Catholic doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, which was signed by five of their body, the sixth, the Bishop of Melbourne, stating his views in a separate paper. They declined to appear to countenance the education given by general or local boards, believing that the religious instruction given in the schools under their superintendence was "defective, erroneous, or indefinite," and they constituted an Australasian Board of Missions charged—(1) with the conversion and civilization of the Australian Blacks; and (2) with the conversion and civilization of the Heathen races in all the islands of the Western Pacific.

It was understood that this latter work would be undertaken jointly by the Australian and New Zealand Churches; and in 1851 a Branch of the Australasian Board of Missions was formed at Auckland. Of the former there were five dioceses, while in New Zealand Bishop Selwyn was the sole representative of the episcopate. The Bishop of Newcastle, who had been Bishop Selwyn's comrade in the *Lady Margaret* boat at Cambridge, undertook to share with him the first voyage, which was made in 1851, but after that time the whole work of the mission was left to Bishop Selwyn, until Mr. Patteson joined him in 1855. The Australasian dioceses contributed money from time to time, and on this occasion they furnished a ship of nearly 100 tons, the *Border Maid*, the *Undine* being too small for the number of students who, it was hoped, would now be gathered from the islands.

The Synod ended, the bishop returned to Auckland in the brig *Emma*,[1] and thence sailed southward; and on

[1] The commander of the *Emma* made the following entry in his log :— "One good to me of the Bishop being a bit of a sailor was exhibited during service on Sunday; he noticed that we should do better on the other tack, and could see that I was impatient to go about, so before

January 3, 1851, there is the following entry in his log :— "Anchored in Port Cooper,[1] 6½ P.M. χάρις τῷ Θεῷ ;" and on the following day, "Went on shore at 8 ; breakfast with Mr. Godley. Synod with four clergymen. Pleasant and useful conference. Much spirit of unanimity and concord in the body. At 1 walked to the new road to visit the road parties of natives, and to invite them to service. Visited settlers from house to house. Contented and pleased with the country."

The Chatham Islands were included in this visitation, and on April 18 (Good Friday) the *Undine* dropped her anchor at Auckland, never again to carry the noble freight of the great missionary bishop and his spiritual children.

In this year the perilous responsibility of free civil legislation came almost within the possession of New Zealand ; to no colony had the privilege been extended at so early a period of its existence. In 1842 the local legislature of New Zealand had passed a measure, based on the principles of representative self-government, for the local government of the various settlements, but the enactment was disallowed by the Crown ; and for the first ten years of its existence the colony was treated as one undivided community, and a Legislative Council, consisting of the nominees of the Crown, was the sole law-making power, with no element of popular representation. In 1846 Lord Grey had attempted to frame a constitution for New Zealand, which was no sooner submitted to the local authorities than it was pronounced a failure, and was with much moral courage withdrawn by its author. In 1852 a representative constitution was given to New Zealand, which for the

beginning the Communion Service he looked at me in a way I quite understood, so I gave the order, 'Bout ship, my lads, and when she's round, come aft again.' So we put her on the other tack, trimmed sails, and mustered again on quarter-deck, and knelt down to prayers again. Few bishops would have so understood the necessity for this manœuvre, and with most preachers I should have hesitated to move till the service ended, by which time we might have lost some miles of ground."

[1] Now Lyttelton Harbour.

purposes of civil government was divided into six provinces.

While in the mother country the civil government of New Zealand was being secured, events were happening in the Mother Church which made themselves felt to the remotest limit of her frontiers: the utterance known as the Gorham judgment, had led some of the most sound, if not the most calm-judging, sons of the Church to despair of her catholicity. The letters written on the broad seas are a better record of the bishop's views on passing events than formal extracts from his diary; and the following, brief though it be, has a special interest; it deals with things that happened on either side of the world, and shows the entire devotion of the bishop to the work whose claims seemed each year to be growing in urgency:—

"Undine" Schooner, at Sea,
April 15th, 1851.

My dear Lady Powis,

. . . I am just returning from a voyage of 4,000 miles to Stewart's Island, Otakou, Canterbury, Chatham Islands, Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth, and am now within 100 miles of home, after an absence of four months. Our house, like yours, has been one of sorrow, for our dear little daughter, born in September 1850, has been taken from us. I had only known her for twelve days, and those full of business, so that I can scarcely call her features to mind; and "when I shall meet her in the courts of heaven, I shall not know her." We had hoped that she would have been the companion of her mother, and comfort her for the separation from her sons; but her lot is cast in a better state by Him in whom is the whole disposal: and we can rejoice in thinking of her as one of the spotless Innocents who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth. The loss is less to me than to her mother: for I cannot and must not look to children as a source of personal and domestic enjoyment: but may hope to rejoice, if it be God's will, in reports of their well doing under the care of the other parents and friends with whom they are so abundantly supplied.

How much I should like to see you all once more! but the work increases upon me. New Caledonia and the Islands are opening and the good people of Sydney with the greatest kindness have bought me a larger vessel to supersede the dear little *Undine* which has now carried me 24,000 miles, a space equal to the whole circumference of the globe. If it were not for these calls of duty, I think that I should have been tempted to visit England at the end of my ten years of service, to seek for comfort and refreshment from the fountain head: for there is but one real privation in colonial life, the being cut off from intercourse with so much that is great and good and holy in the mother country. Perhaps even in this respect I have less to complain of than others of my order, as I have the society of friends, whose cultivated minds and high tone of principle supply as much moral and intellectual converse as I have any right to expect. . . .

Lord Powis, I do not doubt, is much disturbed by the present prospects of the Church in England. Every letter and every newspaper brings new cause of anxiety and sorrow. May we all remain stedfast in allegiance and love to our own Holy Mother; and if we are ever forced to change our present position, at least let us never seek for refuge in the most corrupt Church and the most corrupt State upon earth. Better ten Privy Councils to adjudicate upon doctrine than that monstrous coalition of triple crowns and cardinal hats and French bayonets, which is now the state of Rome. We are not without our share of the characteristic trial of the day, the attempt of the State to coerce conscience; but my little vessel rides quietly over the waves with New Caledonia and the dark Islands of the Pacific under my lee. I will never leave the Church of England, happen what may, but I may be forced to serve her and her Lord in some other portion of this field: a little more, and Lord Grey would have made me a Missionary Bishop with "my path upon the mountain wave, my home upon the deep." But I pray God that we may do nothing rashly: but dwell rather upon our many grounds of thankfulness than upon the few causes of discontent. . . .

There was some hope (destined, however, to be rudely disappointed,) that the bishop would shortly be relieved of a portion of his episcopal cares. The Canterbury settlement had been formed under circumstances of unusual promise, and it was probable that a Bishop of Lyttelton would take charge of the Southern Island; to this end he formally resigned the charge of that portion of his diocese in 1851. He made a point of meeting the ships which brought out the first detachments of "the Canterbury pilgrims," and here is a letter describing their condition and his own disappointment:—

"Undine" Schooner, at Anchor, Lyttelton,
alias Port Cooper.

My dear Friend,

Here I am among the Canterbury pilgrims; and a very good set of colonists they are, as far as I can judge. But a great mistake has been made in sending out too many at once, and in allowing any consideration to prevent their instant occupation of land. They are not allowed, I find, to choose till two months after their arrival, by which time the prime of the summer will have passed away, and many will have become demoralized by idleness and desultory habits forced upon them, rather than chosen by themselves. These are all the old mistakes, which I hoped you would have avoided after so much experience and so many warnings. I repeat again and again the same advice: send out your parochial staff ready organized—clergyman, landowners, labourers, not turned adrift upon an interminable plain: far less cooped up in a Dutch oven at Lyttelton; but to go at once to a *parish* known and chosen by themselves, and to a church and school already built; so that not one single day's delay may occur in resuming those good habits in their new country which they have learned in England, and continued under their own chaplain on board their ship.

I find neither church, nor school, nor parsonage in existence. Money enough has been spent, but all in civil engineering. Last Sunday I administered the Holy Communion in a crowded loft over a store. I do not care for these things if they are unavoidable; but where it has

been part of the whole plan from the first to put religion in its right place, I do object to spacious and costly offices, long lines of wharves, roads, piers, &c., and not one sixpence of expenditure in any form for the glory of God, or for the comfort of the clergy. Mr. Godley is doing all that he can to remedy the defect; and I shall of course make the best of the matter.

I have written to you on the subject of the bishopric. The simplest course would be for Dr. —— to go to Sydney to be consecrated. After the resolution passed at our meeting at Sydney, I cannot advise his returning to England for that purpose. The more Catholic course will be to obtain consecration within his own province.

There are many very excellent people, to all appearance, with whom I have made acquaintance, and I hope to see more of them on my return from the Auckland Islands, to which I am now sailing, to see the "Antartic Prince of Whales,"[1] who is now almost alone in his glory; but still with a sufficient number of English and New Zealanders to require a visit. I wish also to take the opportunity of seeing my numerous god-children in Stewart's Island and Foveaux Straits, before I resign them to the charge of the new bishop.

It is sufficient to state here that until the consecration of Bishop Harper, in 1856, Bishop Selwyn continued to be the sole bishop in New Zealand.

Nothing now hindered the commencement of the Melanesian voyage, as the joint undertaking of the Australian and New Zealand Churches, but the arrival of the *Border Maid*, with the Bishop of Newcastle. To this prelate the whole undertaking was one of novelty, but the more experienced bishop wrote:—

"This time I shall not have an escort, which will oblige me to be a little more cautious; but the larger vessel will afford greater protection, as the *Undine* is so low on the water that it would be impossible to keep out boarders. You must not expect speedy results in this work, for even

[1] Mr. Enderby

the soft Tahitians stood a siege of sixteen years, and the New Zealanders the same time, before they yielded to the Gospel. Among these 'mingled peoples' we must expect even slower progress: but I am full of hope that they also will at last be numbered among the heathen for whom the prayers of Christ have been heard and granted."

Thus he girded himself for the work, expecting no immediate results, content with patiently doing a humble and perilous work of sowing seed if haply the harvest might be gathered by another hand. Sixteen years of resultless work was what he anticipated, and for this barren toil he was prepared.

On the afternoon of Whitsun-Day, June 8, the *Border Maid* was seen in the offing, and just before the "Unity Service," a gathering held on Sunday evenings of all the clergy and lay teachers who had been dispersed for their widely scattered duties during the day, the Bishop of Newcastle landed.

On Mr. Abraham's leaving Eton the previous year, it had been determined that St. Barnabas' Day should annually be observed by the friends and supporters of the New Zealand Church as a day of special intercession for the work and those employed in it. Here in New Zealand the first anniversary seemed to be specially auspicious. Not only was the originator of the plan present in person, but also the Bishop of Newcastle, who was taking a part in the Melanesian enterprise. It was a happy gathering. On the previous evening there had been much grave talk on the patience and hope needful to carry on any real foundation work, whether in temporal or spiritual matters; and Bishop Selwyn said that "Hope was at the bottom of the box," and that he considered that the present generation was indebted most to Mr. Pettigrew, who had brought the mummy peas to England, and had grown them, thereby revealing a vital power in that which had been buried wrapped round a mummy for 3,000 years. "After such

proof of 'latency,' who need despair? The seed we sow here may be hid for thousands of years, but still, remembering latent vitality and Mr. Pettigrew, he should never despair."

On St. Barnabas Day there was a full service in the church, and a large number of communicants. One who was present thus recorded the subsequent proceedings:—

"After dinner the Bishop placed his brother of Newcastle in his chair (John Frere's oaken chair in Hall), and the clergy presented to him an address of welcome. The bishop acknowledged it very nicely, and alluded to his friendship with G. A. N. Z. Then our bishop spoke of the joy of meeting on this day, when the love and friendship of apostles are commemorated with two fellow-collegians at St. John's, the Judge and Bishop Tyrrell. He touched very nicely on the witness which such feelings gave of the brotherhood of such societies, and expressed his hope 'that this seedling from their own St. John's, would grow up in strength of love and purity.' Then he alluded to the day, only six years ago, when he and the judge stood on the same spot, then only a wild heath, and Mr. Whytehead's legacy of 600*l.* was all that he had with which to begin the work; and now, when he looked around and saw this College of St. John, supporting itself in great measure by its own labour, and the recognized centre of the Missions of the Pacific, ready to receive students of divers nations and languages, he could not but feel encouraged to go onwards."

Not until July 17 was the *Border Maid* in condition to undertake her voyage, which came to an end on September 20, on which day, at sunrise, the bishop landed his brother at Newcastle, and at sunset greeted Bishop Broughton at Sydney. It was a very eventful voyage, more full of peril and of substantial results than any that had gone before. Instead of making copious extracts from the logs and journals kept on board ship, it seems preferable to give a connected and not very condensed account of it. Here,

then, is a *résumé*, written by one who was enthusiastic in her sense of the courageous devotion which inspired the undertaking, and full of sympathy with all who were concerned in it :—

St. John's College, N.Z.,
Nov. 7th, 1851.

It was early in the morning of the 7th of October that we heard that the *Border Maid* had anchored off Kohimarama in the night, and the bishop was on shore and gone to Taurarua, where Mrs. Selwyn and Johnnie were then staying.

After morning service in chapel, a party were seen coming up from the vessel, and soon a long file of black boys became visible, and thirteen were counted as they came nearer.

Mr. Abraham went to meet them, and soon returned with the joyful news that two of our old friends, who had gone away with the bishop in July, Tom and Meste, had returned; and also three of the set he had here the year before—little Thol, the sick boy from Lifu, grown into a big, fat boy; Siapo, the chief's son from Maré, and another.

Many of our Maori boys had gone to meet them, and there were many greetings and much shaking of hands between old friends, and with the strangers. Thol was at home directly in this house, and came to see nurse, and inquired for Johnnie; and Tom and Meste wanted to come in and see Mrs. Selwyn and me.

When Tom was asked about Bob, his little brother, he said, "Bob no come;" but he brought up another little boy from Erromango, whom he introduced as "all the same, Bob!" and seemed very proud of; and in fact little Umao is a ditto of our last pet, little Bob, in many ways. with his merry face and white teeth.

Then we learnt something of the story of the voyage from Mr. Nihill and Nelson Hector, and, by dint of pumping, from the bishop afterwards. I will give you the sketch of it as well as I can.

I described to you the hold, fitted up as a schoolroom by day, when the hammocks were taken down, and left in a good airy place. Here they kept school regularly all the

voyage—the bishop, Mr. Nihill, and Nelson being the teachers; the hours of school and work alternating as they do here.

Anaiteum was their first point, and there the bishop found Mr. Geddie still persevering in his work, though with reduced means and impaired health; with a slowly increasing Christian population around him, and a promising set of scholars, one of whom the bishop has brought to the college at his request, to learn printing. Captain Paddon was also there, going on with his sandal-wood trade on the conciliatory and pacific plan which he finds answers so much better than the contrary; in witness whereof the guns which he brought with him in the first instance, lie rusting in the sand. And there also is the iron house, the only remains of the Roman Catholic Mission in the island, which the bishop visited on first landing there in 1848, filled with a large body of clergy, and all means and appliances for defence against the natives, and for their conversion; but which he found deserted in 1851—the whole body gone, like the shifting-scene in a phantasmagoria—no one knows why.

Futuna was the next place they reached, and both the bishops went on shore there. The people were friendly, and they returned with two nice-looking boys, whom the Bishop of Newcastle selected for their amiable countenances and gentle manners; but nevertheless an instance occurred with them which showed how independent the cruelty of their national customs is of individual character. Irai, the younger of the two was very ill on board, and Sadua, the elder, his relation, or brother, as he calls himself, wanted to throw him overboard, because he said he was unhappy himself and made others unhappy; his life was "no good."

Tanna was their next point, and here they found the little Erromango boy, Umao, taking care of a sick Englishman who had been put ashore by his companions—covered with wounds—in such a dreadful state that they feared contagion in the ship. He seems to have been kindly treated at Erromango, and to have been brought to Tanna for the hot baths, this little boy still accompanying him, and tending him most carefully, though the man was always scolding, and often striking him. The bishop

offered to take the man to Sydney, and the little boy came with him, and then was the bishop's "earning" to bring him home. They say little Bob's delight was great when Umao came on board—he was of his tribe—in a state of nature, but in five minutes Bob had dressed him, and they went running about together hand in hand, all over the vessel.

But this did not last long, for when they came to Erromango, Tom and Bob were to be landed there. The bishop was very careful about landing here, knowing the feeling there was against the island, in consequence of Williams's death here. He used to say to Tom that they would fight him if he went to Erromango; but Tom was always earnest in his denial, and his assurance "No fight; no fight."

The land they first made was Dillon's Bay, the scene of Williams's massacre. Tom did not know the place, and said the people spoke another language; so they went on to his own shore, and some of his own people came out to the vessel; but still, Mr. Nihill says, they were very doubtful whether they had come to the right place, they took so little notice of Tom, though they knew him, and he seemed so bewildered; he went on speaking to them in English, "How you do?" "Very good me come home." They were very dirty, too, and ill-favoured, as Meste thought, when he went down and told Mr. Nihill, "Plenty yam Salems on deck; much dirty."

At last the bishop took the boys on shore, and sent for the chief to give Tom up in due form. He was long coming, and they saw no women about, which made him cautious. He did not land until the chiefs came down, and then he sent them off to the ship while he accompanied Tom and Bob to their home, two miles inland. Tom was very happy then, and ran off to find yams and cook them. His house was an arbour of large dimensions, having about 30 feet depth from the front. The bishop remained outside with his companions, and partook of their food. He knelt down with Tom and Bob and said prayers with them, and then bade them tell their friends what they

were doing, and what it meant. But though not offensive in their manners, they were not attractive in any way, and took more notice of Bob's cat than anything else. Tom and Bob came down to the beach when he left them, and cried when he parted from them; Tom saying, however, several times, "Me say no fight!" as if appealing to the veracity of his statements.

The stories he tells of the fighting that prevails between the different tribes in the island are very unfavourable to obtaining a hearing even, still less for any religious impressions.

They next went to Maré (Nengone is the native name), and found the Samoan teachers still there, and with increasing congregations and schools; and to the bishop's great joy he found that Siapo had been stedfast, and had kept close to them and improved in reading and writing, and in all ways.

He was on shore here for two days, and much pleased with the progress made. A large native chapel is built, and well filled with Christian worshippers. He joined in the services—preached in Samoan—and visited the schools; and earnestly wished he could leave some permanent minister, in answer to their urgent entreaties, as he thinks this island now ready for the formation of a mission station. As it was, he could only bring away five of the youths for training here this year; two of them being old friends. Another young chief desired to come very much, but his father would not let him, and he sat by the Bishop crying bitterly; he has his name down, however, and says he shall call for him next time.

The Isle of Pines is now entirely taken possession of by the R. C. Mission, and they did not land there.

At Lifu he was immediately greeted as "Kame Thol." "Thol's father" and Thol was sent for, being inland. He came directly, quite prepared to return to school, and bringing a relation with him, whom he begged might come too. The first night he said the Lord's Prayer in English, and several other things which the bishop had taught him. From what they could learn, there were no Christians on the island.

They reached Malicolo on the 25th of August, and were well received, though the natives did not even know the

words "missionary" and "tobacco," which seem to be the first English words known in these seas. The bishop and his party walked about the island and made special acquaintance with a very pleasing elderly man and his son, a very fine, intelligent youth, whom the bishop much wished to bring away. They found a well of good water on a hill near the shore, and next morning the bishop returned with a party to replenish their water casks. He had two boats, some of the sailors, two English and some Maori boys, and Siapo. One English lad and one sailor stayed in the boat, and the bishop went up the hill with the rest to the spring. His quick eye, however, saw that all was not as he left it the preceding evening. Strangers were there, and there seemed a questioning and disputing among them and the friendly natives, who still seemed as friendly as ever. One of the strangers followed them making faces, when the bishop turned and fixed his eye upon him and motioned him to begone: he slunk back, but still followed. He was always most particular in keeping his party *together* on shore; and this day an Italian sailor who was always making short cuts, was nearly separated from them, but was called back in time. They had filled their casks, and were walking down the hill again, when the bishop saw a man above them throw something which fell near them, and immediately a yell was heard from below. He desired his party not to run, nor to show any fear, but to walk on with their water casks as if regardless of all around them.

The accounts vary as to the number of the natives gathered together: the Maori youth says there were *very many*—the English lad agrees with him. The bishop thinks there might be 200 in all, and only a few of them were evil disposed. Certain it is there were quite enough to have surrounded and murdered him and his little band had that been their intent. As it was they did no violence, for though they threw stones and let arrows fly, none of them hit; and they are too sure marksmen to miss their aim if taken.

When they came within sight of the boats, they saw that one had pushed off towards the vessel, while the other was surrounded with natives, who were brandishing their clubs about Nelson Hector, and making all sorts of bragging

and threatening gestures; in short, as the bishop said, "hectoring Hector," while he sat unmoved, a worthy disciple of the bishop, only quietly resisting their attempts to take the oars from him.

The bishop and his train of water-bearers made their way steadily onward to the water's edge. He said, "Go on," and they walked on into the water, lifting their casks higher and higher as they advanced, till, seeing Siapo marching on with his, lifting it above his head, and the waves dashing into it, he called on him to empty it, as the water was spoiled; but even then he was very unwilling to lighten his burden. As they approached the boat the natives around it made off, and in a few minutes more they were on their way to the *Border Maid*, with only one cask missing. One of the sailors had let it fall, and it rolled down the hill, and the bishop would not let him go back for it.

As they went, they could plainly see the two parties on shore, the friendly natives and the adverse ones disputing still; and after they reached the vessel, they saw a party of their friends bringing the missing cask after them. They had no sooner received these on board than they were followed by the mischief-makers, but they kept them from entering the vessel.

I have given you the details of this adventure, because it seems to illustrate several points in the nature of the difficulties of this enterprise, and the peculiar fitness of the bishop to cope with them. His quick-sighted reading of countenance, and apprehension of gestures; his habits of order and forethought, besides his calmness and courage, humanly speaking, contribute to his safety, and enable him to walk unscathed where others would be in danger. If you read the account of Williams's death, you will see that he and his party acted in every respect differently from the bishop in this similar adventure at Malicolo: they *separated* one from another; they *ran* when alarmed; they threw stones and fired when attacked.

I think some of his friends at home think him rash: they would not if they heard the details. Though he is bold and fearless, his thought for every one, and preparation for every contingency, and his judicious selection of persons for different trusts, is wonderful. For instance, no

one perhaps but Nelson Hector would have kept his post with the boat as he did. By dint of great pumping we drew from him the story: how he and the sailor waited till he saw the natives coming down with menacing gestures. He then ordered the sailor to put off towards the vessel, to be free to come back to the bishop's aid if his boat should be taken: he stayed himself where he was placed. They came up, got into his boat, felt him all over, and bullied and threatened him in all ways; and he passively suffered them to do anything but take the oars. Sometimes he thought they were going to dash the club at his head, but more often that it was bravado; and so he kept them in play till the bishop returned; and no doubt their safety was in a great measure owing to his nerve not failing them.

After this island they tried to proceed towards Lydia, but the weather and the state of the rigging was against it, and reluctantly they turned homewards; dropped the Bishop of Newcastle at Newcastle; touched at Sydney, and reached home on the 7th of October.

I must not omit, however, that they called for Tom at Bunkhill, on Erromango, though they did not land again: they went near shore in a boat, and he soon appeared. Meste called to him and told him his story; "Me go back college — you come college." So Tom swam off; his clothes, he said, "sit down at home;" and he wanted to fetch them and little Bob; but being afraid they might lose him too, they did not let him go, but Meste dressed him in some of his gear. So poor little Bob is left. Tom assured us that he and Bob said their prayer together every night, and other people laughed, he said. He is just as amiable and happy as he was, but is not bright in learning. Meste gets on well, and can read English in the first reading-book, and write pretty well; but he is often sad about not getting home, and sometimes says he will not come again. His moral sense of truth and honesty is very keen; but he is very anxious to get a bottle of poison from the surgery, to poison his enemies when he goes nome; and, on Hector's expressing horror at the idea, he said, "Why? They no white men!"

The Maré boys are the most advanced; they can read their own language, and have more idea of the distinctive

doctrines of Christianity. Siapo is thought by his teachers to be really anxious for religious instruction, and to be a Christian. To read the Bible seems his great object in coming here. He is very national, and will not allow anything to be better here than in his own country. To learn and go back is one great object with him; and another, to have an English clergyman on the island. He tells Hector they are tired of the Samoan teachers; they can do no more than they have done. The wild note of savage life appears much more in them (the boys from Maré) than in Meste. One of them hit an English boy by accident—throwing a spear—and they all set off and hid themselves, and were not found till next day: it was the custom, Siapo said, and they could not make him ashamed of it. They take to wearing clothes, after a little trouble, very readily, and learn to make them; but they resist the cutting of their hair stoutly. However, the bishop carried his point, and the shearing of the three Maré boys filled a tub, he said. The first taming process, he says, is to put on a shirt, or blue Jersey; then to cut their hair, beginning with the least boy, and so on; every one who is shorn being in his turn on the side of shearing—like the old story of the fox.

The danger to which the bishop was exposed at Malicolo was thus described by the Bishop of Newcastle in a letter to a friend in England:—

MORPETH, N. S. WALES,
Sept. 23*rd*, 1851.

The main danger to which we have been exposed has arisen from the character of the natives of the islands, and their deep-rooted desire of revenge for previous injury. They are very treacherous, or rather, I would say, when they have, from any cause, decided to attack and kill they effect their object by pretending to and showing in their manner the greatest cordiality and goodwill, until the moment of attack. The captain of a sandal-wood trader, whom we met at the first island which we visited, told me that on visiting one of the islands to which we were going, some years ago, he had so numerous a crew that he thought himself quite secure, and that the natives would not dare to attack them. He therefore allowed as many as liked

to come on the deck; many came and appeared in great good humour, most pleased and friendly: when in one moment, without the slightest warning, seventeen of his crew were laid dead on the ship's deck. Their revenge, or retaliation, is with them a principle or point of honour, and as they can draw no distinction between one white man and another, however different they may be in calling or even in country, when they have received any injury from a ship or boat, they will always retaliate, if they can, upon the next white men who come to their island, and it is of course quite impossible to know what ship or boat may have visited an island some few days or weeks before you visit it, or how they may have treated the natives.

The greatest danger to which we were exposed arose from the evil design and attempt of the natives in Sandwich Harbour, at the Island of Malicolo. Only one ship is known to have visited this harbour before the *Fly* man-of-war, and the natives did not know one word of English or of the language of the other islands. Numbers collected on the shore as we entered the harbour about noon, and as we wanted to replenish our water, we at once communicated with them—went in our boat close to the shore, persuaded two to swim to us, took them as guides to the place where fresh water could be obtained, gave them some little presents, and dismissed them. The place shown by them as the best for obtaining water proved so inconvenient that the Bishop of New Zealand and myself rowed in the evening all along the shores of the harbour to find, if possible, a more convenient stream or pool. We found one more accessible and returned after an absence of two hours to the ship. Whenever we left the ship, we always gave directions to the chief mate to allow a few of the natives to come on board, at a time, if they came in their canoes, and wished to see the ship, and seemed quiet and friendly. On our return, the mate told us that they had allowed one or two small parties to come on board, but that afterwards so many came and some looked so questionable, armed with their clubs and spears, that he had thought it prudent to refuse permission to them to come on deck. The Bishop of New Zealand still thought it important to procure some water, and we arranged that we should not both go in the boats, as we had usually done, but that he should go in the

boats to the place we had selected as the best for obtaining water (which was retired, and near the settlement of a nice old man, with whom we had made friends the previous evening) while I remained in charge of the ship. At dawn the boats went with casks to fetch the water, and I was left in the ship with the mate and one sailor, and two or three of the native boys from the other islands. The natives had probably observed, the evening before, how many sailors were in the ship, and perhaps had been annoyed that they had not all been allowed to come on board—when therefore they saw the boats go away with so many hands in them, they would know how few must be left in the ship and feel assured that if some ten or twelve of them could get on board, under pretence of merely seeing the ship, they could watch their opportunity, overpower the few in charge, take possession of the ship, and then have also the whole party in the boats at their mercy. Within an hour after the boats had left the ship, two or three canoes came off to the ship, filled with huge men, most of them were armed with their clubs, and bows, and spears. In the first canoe the chief man was such a ferocious looking ruffian, with a formidable club, that I at once determined he should not come on board. When, therefore, the canoe came close to the ship, and they asked by signs whether they might come on board, I refused to allow them, but made them understand by pointing to the sun, and tracing its course in the heavens, that they might come on board about noon, when it was over our heads. By this time I knew the boats would be returned: and then if we only admitted a few on board at a time, making them leave their arms in their canoes, there would probably be no great risk. They seemed much disappointed, and in order to keep them in good humour, I talked to them, asked their names for different things and wrote down the words in a book. I then got them to tell me their names, and in order to carry on this amusement and pass the time, I pointed to an old man in the canoe and made signs that he might come and sit on the side of the bulwarks, and tell me the names of things which I wanted to know. The old man came and seated himself beside me, and as I wrote down the first word he gave me, I saw him looking most anxiously all over the ship: and as I wrote down the

second word, I detected him making signs to the ferocious chief, with a look which seemed to say distinctly, "It's all right, only one or two left in the ship: let us get quietly on deck and the ship is ours and the white men in our power." I immediately sent the old man back to the canoe, and made them understand that no one could come on deck till the sun was over our heads. Five or six other canoes had by this time come off to the ship, and there must have been at least fifty of these huge men in them, many armed, and some five or six looking as if they could do anything. For more than two hours they kept close to the ship, asking again and again to come on deck, which I again and again refused. Every now and then, one more forward than the rest would take hold of the ship and plant his foot on a slight projection, so that one good spring would bring him on deck. No sooner had he planted his foot and looked up, than he saw me just over him, directing him very calmly but decidedly to get back into his canoe. All this time the native boys from the other islands, who were on board, were in the greatest terror. One came to me with a countenance of livid paleness and said, "Those,—very bad men,—they want kill you and me,—they no come on ship, you no let them come." Another, the biggest of the boys, a stout strong fellow, came to me with a countenance so ludicrous from the excess of terror depicted on it, that I could not help laughing. Well! after two hours, the men in the canoes consulted together, evidently came to the conclusion that it was no use to try any longer, and began to move off. My work was then done, and the chief mate came up to me and said, "I am rejoiced, my lord, that those fellows are gone: we have been in great danger: if your calm firmness had not disconcerted them, and three or four had once got on the deck, the ship would not have been now in our possession."

Next came the most anxious hour that I have ever passed in my whole life. When the canoes had moved off a little way, they stopped, and every eye was directed towards the two boats of the ship, which were lying off the shore, where the water was being fetched from a pool about a quarter of a mile inland, up a rocky wooded bank. The men in the canoes consulted together, then changed

their places, filling the two largest canoes with those who were evidently the greatest fighters, and these two canoes paddled towards the boats. While I was called upon to act and protect the ship, I was perfectly calm, and though I was conscious of the danger of my position, felt no fear. *Now* I was full of alarm. As the two canoes went slowly towards the boats, I could see other natives running along the shore in the same direction. With the telescope, I could see one man in each of the boats and about one hundred natives on the shore. The danger was, lest the two canoes should reach the boats and overpower the two men before the Bishop of New Zealand came down with his body of men from the water pool—in which case the natives would be in possession of the boats—deprive the bishop and his party of all means of reaching the ship, and destroy them at their leisure. The canoes neared the boats, I called to the mate and asked, "Can we render any assistance?" "None, my lord." I pointed to a third small boat still on the ship: "That would sink if put into the water, and we have only one oar to it." I paced the deck a few seconds, and then asked again, "If anything should happen on shore, and the natives taste blood there, have we any means of self-defence in the ship?" The answer was "*None.*" This information did not disconcert me: I felt it a duty to inquire whether anything could be done; and if anything could have been suggested, should at once have set about it. But the thought that something fatal might happen on shore brought with it a sickening feeling of reckless disregard as to what might happen to myself. I therefore paced the deck and rendered the only aid I could render—that of fervent prayer to Almighty God, asking in our Saviour's Name that He would guard and protect and restore to us in safety my dear friend and his companions. I saw soon the canoes reach the boats: I saw two of the natives in one of the boats: I heard a noise and the shout from shore—I could not trust my eyes, when I thought I saw the boats move from the shore, rowed by our own men—I gave the telescope to the mate and eagerly asked whether he could see the men in the boats and the bishop with them. He looked and answered "Yes—they are all there—and his lordship steers the first boat." You can imagine my thankfulness . . . ."

The *Border Maid* returned to Auckland on Oct. 7. The voyage had been as usual made available for meeting the demands of correspondents to whom, it will be noticed, the Bishop makes no mention of the perils to which he had been exposed on the voyage. Among those thus remembered was the Countess of Powis, to whom the Bishop wrote.

To the Countess of Powis.

Schooner, "Border Maid,"
Sept. 18*th*, 1851.

My dear Lady Powis,

As I am now approaching Sydney, on my return from a Missionary voyage to the islands with the Bishop of Newcastle, I am encouraged by the hope of a speedy mail to prepare a letter to you, in acknowledgment of one received shortly before I left home, dated 30th July, 1850. I fear that the box, which I should value so much, containing the engraving of my late dear friend and patron, has been mislaid. I have never yet seen it, and my only hope now is that, as we live in one small house with Mr. and Mrs. Abraham and several of our native scholars all crowded together, the box, as it sometimes happens, may have been laid under others during my absence, and so have remained unseen and unopened. In fact, since 5th September, 1850, I have scarcely been two months at home. It will give me a melancholy pleasure to see the likeness of my kind friend hanging in my study by the side of my excellent father-in-law, Sir John Richardson. I often say that in my present state of separation, probably for life, from all my relations and friends, I have an advantage over those who remain in England, for when the course of actual conversation is once interrupted, the greater part of the "bitterness of death is past," and the mind, divested of the hope of further intercourse on earth looks forward the more easily to a reunion at the last day, and to an eternal communion in heaven.

In September last, two days before my departure for Sydney, it pleased God to bless us with a little daughter, whom I found on my return, blooming with all the health

and cheerfulness in which children born in New Zealand rival their English relations. For about ten days I was allowed to love this new treasure, and looked forward to the comfort that she would be to my dear wife when her second son should have followed his brother to England. I then went away again on my summer voyage of four months and had reached Wellington on my return home when I learned that our dear little Margaret had been cut off after a day's illness. It has been a grievous blow to my dear Sarah, as the child was about six months old, and at that age, as you do not require to be told, had twined her little cords of love about her mother's heart. To me these losses had not so much of grief as of a softening and humbling chastisement, teaching me to pray that in the midst of cares and works, all tending to roughen, if not harden, the surface of the heart, the spirit of my little babe may be given to me that I may be converted and become like her.

In the midst of the sorrow comes also abundant consolation. You may have heard, I dare say, of the kindness of the people of Sydney and Newcastle in subscribing 1,200*l.* for a new vessel for me. We have just made our first voyage in the *Border Maid* a name which will gratify your national feeling, especially as the vessel was built at Aberdeen. She is a schooner of nearly one hundred tons, that is full four times the size of the *Undine*. A singular providence has reunited me with my old college friend, Bishop Tyrrell, who was No. 7 in the St. John's boat when I was captain. We were in the same year at St. John's and constantly together. He succeeded me in my college rooms in the new court, which were afterwards occupied by Lord Powis, and after him, I think, by Robert Clive.

Our voyage of three months has been most pleasant though not so expeditious as others in the *Undine*. We are bringing back with us, as usual, a party of native scholars, thirteen in number, from six different islands and speaking six different languages. Among the rest is my dear little boy Thol from Lifu, who was with us last year and returned in such a doubtful state of health that I scarcely expected to find him alive. He is again in good health, and most happy to return with me to keep his second term at the college.

In this same year the Church kept the third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It was hoped that in every part of the world prayers and thanksgivings would be offered by those who had at heart the extension of the kingdom: Days of Intercession have within the last few years made us realise how truly the Anglican Communion has girdled the world, but in 1851 the idea had not been so prominently presented to Church people: probably no more appropriate greeting, whether in regard to the place where it was written or to the circumstances and surroundings of the writer, reached the Society than the following letter from the Bishop of New Zealand.

SCHOONER "BORDER MAID," AT SEA,
Sept. 17th, 1851.

MY DEAR MR. HAWKINS,

I think that I cannot acknowledge the Society's Jubilee letter from a more appropriate place than the bosom of the wide sea, over which, in its length and breadth, it has pleased God that the work of His Church should be extended. The vessel on board of which I write will also attest the blessing granted to the Society's labours, for it is the gift of the dioceses of Sydney and Newcastle, where the good seed has been sown and nurtured, under Divine protection, mainly by your efforts. It has pleased God in a remarkable manner to verify the words which I wrote in an early letter—that those who thought that our venerable Society was doing little for the conversion of the heathen, might well consider whether there could be any surer way of spreading the gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth than by building up the colonial churches as Missionary centres. The movement at Sydney last year, of which I am now enjoying the fruits in company with my dear brother of Newcastle, is a signal proof of the diffusion and fructifying character of your work. Your contributions to Australia and New Zealand have awakened a zeal and established a precedent, by which the gospel has now been carried over a range of 4000 miles, to islands of which even the names are almost unknown in London. We have with us in the mission vessel thirteen youths

from six different islands, besides two of our own New Zealanders, who are going with us to St. John's (now recognised as the central Missionary College) for such instruction as we hope will qualify them, in due time, to return as teachers to their own countrymen. Our little flock is as follows:—5. Nengone or Maré. 2. Lifu—*Loyalty Islands.* 2. Futuna. 2. Erromango. 1. Anaiteum—*New Hebrides.* 1. Solomon Islands. 2. New Zealanders. 15 speaking 7 languages. This is the choicest offering which I can make on the occasion of your jubilee; for there is no treasure dearer to my own heart than these youths; not for themselves only, but for the inchoate and potential good which faith and hope represent as now concentrated in them, and to be propagated by them hereafter. Silver and gold we have none, for what we have we receive from you and your kindred Society (would that it were still more united); but we offer to you these treasures of our mission field, as proofs that your efforts have not been unblessed, and that your prayers do not return to you void. You may affirm, with perfect truth, that in our college—mainly promoted and encouraged by your support—you are educating the children of the most distant races of the earth. There is no inhabited spot so near to the actual antipodes of Greenwich, as the Chatham Islands, from which we have six youths, now under education at the college. And it is mainly owing to the efforts of the society, under God's blessing, that I have been enabled, during the last nine months, to visit, with ease and comfort, inhabited countries stretching over thirty-three degrees of latitude, or one eleventh part of the circumference of the globe. The range of our native scholars is over thirty-four degrees of latitude, from the Solomon Islands in 10° S. lat., to the Chatham Islands in 44 S. These distances may serve as a lively type of the length and breadth of the love of Christ; for surely it is not the work of the Church itself, much less of societies or individuals, but His free love and His all-sufficient sacrifice, which is bringing these things to pass. How gladly then shall we join in your special prayers and thanksgivings: ascribing all glory to Him, to Whom it is due; and counting all past successes only as proofs of His presence with His Church always, even to the ends of the earth.

On my return to Auckland I shall hope to find your second letter (promised in the circular of 7 Nov.), with instructions as to the mode in which it is wished that the Jubilee should be observed.

Trusting to the blessing of the Almighty that your year of Jubilee will be one in which many slaves of Satan will be set free,

I remain,
Your grateful and faithful friend,
G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

The complaints, some more heavy than others, which the colonists had made of the bishop defrauding themselves of this measure of his services while he was "yachting" among the Solomon and other groups were now repeated, losing nothing of virulence by distance, in England. The bishop sent his justification together with remarks on divers topics in a letter to his constant friend, the Rev. E. Coleridge.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, AUCKLAND,
Oct. 8th, 1851.

MY DEAR AND INEXHAUSTIBLE FRIEND,

On my return yesterday from the "News," the mass of matter which they suggest must be my excuse for at once proceeding to business, when I would much rather linger within the playground of affection.

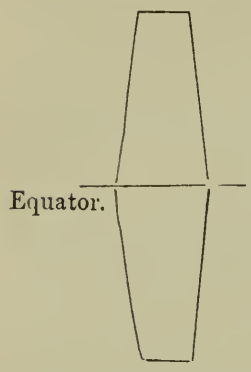
1. *Ship Money.*—I fear that I have been guilty of the offence of Charles I.—of levying this tax without sufficient authority—misled unintentionally by your letter . . .

It is a great satisfaction to me to find from you that I may appropriate the ship fund to any purpose connected with the mission, because I shall now feel able to carry out some other plans necessarily resulting from the use of the vessel, but not actually naval . . .

Lest you should be afraid of being reduced to a mere "dealer in marine stores," I will do my best to supply you with matters of higher interest "ad salutem animarum pertinentibus."

2. *Touching my Diocese.*—You say that questions have been raised about my neglecting my own diocese. Pray inform all complainants that my diocese extends from the Auck-

land Islands to the Carolines; *i. e.* from 50 *south* latitude, to 34 *north* latitude; upwards of 80 degrees of latitude by 20 of longitude: and that having a diocese so like a rolling pin, I must needs be a "rolling stone;" though I am well aware that such stones, whether heaved by Sisyphus, or borne by torrents, "gather no moss." But it is not for me to question the wisdom of an appointment, of which it is my simple duty to endeavour, so far as God may give me grace, to discharge the duties. At present, as I have not visited much more than 30 of the given 80 degrees of latitude, it seems to be premature to accuse me of extending *majores nido pennas.*



If it should be said that the definition of the Colony of New Zealand, which has been copied into all the Patents and Public Documents of New Zealand, by which it is made to extend to 34° *north* latitude, is a clerical error,—I rest upon a surer ground in the parting charge of the dear archbishop now gone to his rest, who, with the bishops forming the Board for Colonial Bishoprics, consigned to me, in 1841, the oversight over the progress of religion in "the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific"—a charge which neither his successor, nor any other Church authority has revoked; and which it is therefore my duty to attempt at least to fulfil. For seven years, during the troubles of New Zealand, I neglected altogether this part of my diocese, and now bitterly rue the consequences of this delay; as fields then untrodden by the foot of missionary, are now overrun with Papists and others; and I have to retreat rejected and baffled from places which were freely open to me on my first voyage in the *Dido.* Considering that, within the last twelve months, I have visited every English settlement in New Zealand (except Whanganui) of 150 inhabitants, from Stewart's Island to the Bay of Islands, including the Chatham Islands, distant 400 miles from the main, *two* visits to Lyttelton, *two* to Wellington; and that the larger settlements have been visited every year, upon the average at least once, since I arrived, instead of the triennial obli-

gation imposed by the Canons; and that I have visited on foot *twice* every mission station; and am now preparing at the end of my ninth year to visit them a third time, in the course of a walk of about 1000 miles, but unhappily not one which can be done, in Captain Barclay's style, in 1000 hours—considering, I say, all these things, I think that objectors had much better hold their tongues, and not "compel" me to seem to "boast," when I would much rather dwell in silence upon my own infinite shortcomings.

3. Touching your confidential "kernel" of esoteric advice, I shall not forget your caution; but you hold, and have often expressed an opinion, that the Colonial Church must re-act upon the Mother; and to say the truth, the agony of parting with such men as Manning, caused, as it seems, by the delay of our Church in asserting her own principles and carrying them into practice, does make one almost desperate, and in bitterness of heart one may often steep too much nasturtium, if not gall even, in friendly correspondence. But believe me that I have always felt that I have much greater aid, both in men and money, than I could possibly have expected; that I am deeply grateful for these blessings; and that if I ever speak of "enterprizes of great pith and moment turned aside by the interference of relations," it is only because I am convinced that the Church can never secure the respect or confidence of her most thoughtful sons so long as such things are done . . .

I cannot for very shame go to Scripture to rebuke such interference with a clergyman's sense of duty, but having seen our soldiers and sailors in their wearisome and profitless warfare in this country, I feel disposed to make a low bow to every military and naval man because they do so cheerfully for the Horse Guards and the Admiralty what εἰνάτερες γαλόω τε will not allow clergymen to do for the Church, and so being ashamed, as I say, to go to Scripture, I fall back upon Euripides, *Phœnissæ*, 1000:—

> αἰσχρὸν γὰρ εἰ μὲν θεσφάτων ἐλεύθεροι
> κοὐκ εἰς ἀνάγκην δαιμόνων ἀφιγμένοι, κ.τ.λ.

and then I confess that a little δριμὺ μένος προτύπτει through the nostrils, when I think of the whole Pacific, or rather the whole world overrun by the disciplined forces of the Jesuits, who have practically restricted the Catholic

duty of obedience to the followers of Loyola, as the virtue of temperance was once confined to the house of Rechab. But you must tell me when I do more harm than good by this sputtering, and in all cases acquit me of censoriousness or malevolence. I only wish to see our Church acting, I would not say as other churches act, but as every organised body must act with a view to success. Give us the discipline of the Church of Rome, and its principles of obedience, and we shall hear no more of "Papal aggression." What is the answer to the plain questions, Why are Papal countries aggressive in nothing but religion? and Protestant countries aggressive in everything but in religion? Even Thucydides will supply an answer, where he shows why the aggressive policy of the Athenians always failed by the turbulent and unorganised character of its democracy.

Do not suppose that we vaunt our own perfections in speaking plainly. Our own Colonial churches, witness the "domestic comfort" declaration of the clergy of Adelaide and Tasmania—the Land Question in New Zealand—will all wither and die with the parent stock unless we can all agree to uphold and act upon higher principles than the secular system which fills the four volumes of Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, the root of the Gorham Question and of all evil—the fact that a clergyman has a legal status beyond the control of his own order and of the Church; by which, whether bishop or priest, he ceases to be a soldier of a marching regiment, and becomes one of the Household Brigade, which could not bear to serve in Canada.

4. And lastly, I invoke your aid for pressing the point of the Wellington Bishopric, which would do more to enable me to grow "moss" than anything else that you could do for me. Wellington and Auckland have nearly equal claims; if anything, Wellington has the priority. Press the point with all the *vis Coleridgiana*.

On All Saints' Day, 1851, confirmation was administered in the college chapel to some of the native students, and others were baptized. The candidates, "clothed in white robes, represented people speaking ten languages, gathered from one-fifth part of the earth's circumference, from east to west, and one-tenth part from north to south." Such was the entry which the bishop wrote in his diary. Ten

days later he was again on board the *Border Maid* and off on a visitation to the Chatham Islands and the southern portions of New Zealand, from which he did not return to Auckland until March 29, 1852.

Ten years have now passed since the see of New Zealand was founded: it is by looking back over such a period that we can estimate the full results of labour and not by a continuous record of daily doings; such a *résumé* has kindly been supplied by one who, unconnected with the Mission, was no unconcerned onlooker during the whole of the period.

"The first ten years of the bishop's life and work in New Zealand can be but imperfectly understood unless some account is given by those who were eye-witnesses of the struggles he underwent in the founding and carrying on of St. John's College.

"At the Waimate, indeed, as soon as he had returned from his long visitation through the country in January, 1843, he began to organise his collegiate system. But though he encountered many difficulties, and though the removal of his chaplain, Mr. Whytehead, by death, was like the loss of his right hand, the work there was comparatively easy. In the old Mission Station he found houses enough for all his staff, and he soon turned desolate-looking and ruinous sheds and outhouses into infant and native boys' schools, hospital, printing-office, &c.

"There was already on this ground a house for English boys and their master, and a room in it large enough to be used as a college hall. There was a good deal of pasture land, which only needed care to be made profitable; and within three minutes' walk there was the old mission chapel, in which daily prayers and Sunday services could be held. When we visited our dear friends, in October, 1844, we were surprised and delighted with the progress made. There were fifty native boys, from three to fifteen boarders, under the charge of one of the C.M.S. missionary's sons, and a native girls' school, under the care of Mrs. Dudley. The bishop had found in a loft a number of spinning wheels, sent out years before by the Society, and had had them put in order; and here the

little brown-faced maidens sat and spun every afternoon, and sang merrily over their work. The whole place was a scene of busy, cheerful life.

"Far different was the state of things when the bishop shortly after had to leave the north just as every effort of his was beginning to prosper. The immediate cause of the removal was the unwillingness of the C.M.S. Committee in England to grant a lease of the land and buildings to the bishop; but the war which broke out four months later would probably have compelled him to leave the Waimate.

"Some months previously the Bishop, the Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General had chosen a site for the future college on high ground, about five miles from Auckland by land and three by water, and running down to a navigable creek.

"The Tamaki land was considered very good, and some settlers were already on farms in the neighbourhood. But there was hardly a tree and not one house on the estate, and the greater part of the land turned out to be stiff and clayey, and very difficult to work. The party of students and Maori and English boys were put into tents and into a large barn beside the creek till better accommodation could be provided. As soon as they were settled, under the care of Rev. W. C. Cotton, the bishop's chaplain, the bishop had to start off again on a long visitation tour, and on his return, in March, 1845, when he was hoping to give his whole time for a while to the oversight of the college buildings, the war in the north broke out, and he had to go up to the Bay and to the Waimate, and on his return thence to sail with wife and child to the south, and to remain in charge of the Mission Station at Otaki for three months. Mr. Hadfield's dangerous illness and the need of some one who could speak Maori, and who could mediate with authority between the English and natives, rendered this necessary. He was back again in July, superintending, planting, encouraging, going with parties of the boys, native and English, to neighbouring islands in the little *Flying Fish* to buy timber, always taking the heaviest share of the work, whatever it was, and selecting the roughest accommodation for himself. Difficulties and cares were pressing heavily on him. His trusted friend, Mr. Hadfield, was lying, as was supposed, in his last illness at Wellington.

Mr. Mason, of the C.M.S., had been drowned the year before, when swimming a stream near Wanganui, so that in all that large and disturbed district he had only one clergyman, Rev. R. Taylor, in charge, and one deacon, whom he had trained and ordained in the winter. And during his few months' stay in Auckland he and his wife were tenderly nursing Mrs. Dudley, who died in their house on September 19th, 1845. He had hoped to place her and her husband about that time on a station thirty miles from Auckland, and to see her in charge of a large native girl's school, for which work she was eminently fitted. But this was not all. The destruction of Kororareka brought many destitute families to Auckland, who had young sons growing up, with no means of paying for their education. Several of these made earnest application to Mr. Cotton in the bishop's absence to receive their boys, and the chaplain, knowing his master's large heart, agreed. So on the bishop's return he found eight or nine lads, who must be taught and boarded and lodged as foundation scholars. Some men would have refused the responsibility, for he had no regular provision for the support of the institution, save a grant of 300*l.* for the maintenance of students from the S.P.G. For the rest he was dependent on the sympathy and support of friends in England and on his and his chaplain's private means. The colony was in a state of great depression; labour scarce; wages high. But the very difficulties seemed to brace him to the conflict. The Pauline Rules were drawn up and printed, and the struggles began. Looking back now at those years of toil, I can but wonder at his faith and patience.

"By May, 1846, on the bishop's return after five months' weary travel through every part of his diocese, he and his family removed to St. John's College, and the work fairly began. It looked bare and bleak enough. A grey scoria building, which formed two houses, with eight rooms in each. In one of these the bishop lived; in the other was the English boys' school. The native party was still at Purewa, and on the opposite side of the road were three cottages for the college servants. The meals were taken in a scoria kitchen, and cooked in an outhouse. By the end of the year a little hospital was built, and things began to look more bright. Then comes the time of the

fever, which attacked from twenty to thirty of the college party, and stopped all work for two months, save the constant nursing of the sick, which the bishop took share in night and day. His own party were just recovering when the sad news arrived of the death of Rev. Mr. Bolland, of fever, at New Plymouth. It was needful for the bishop to go off at once to the south to make arrangements for supplying his place. This could only be done by removing Mr. Govett from Otaki to succeed his friend and to send down Mr. Samuel Williams, the son of old Archdeacon Williams, to take his place among the native people. This was a great loss to the college, as Mr. Williams, who had been born in the country, was invaluable as master of the native school; for he had not only idiomatic knowledge of the Maori language, but acquaintance with the ways of thinking of the people, and an affectionate interest in them, and besides, was a man of business. At the end of 1847 Mr. Cotton also had to fulfil his promise to his father and family of returning for a while to England; and so the machines had to be worked by young and often inefficient hands during the bishop's long absences. Many anxious thoughts about the college work and workers weighed him down in his long lonely voyages and land journeys. And no sooner did he arrive home, after months of separation from his family, than he plunged into work at St. John's, teaching, auditing accounts, &c., as if he had no other claims on his time. And amid many discouragements the work grew. By the end of 1847 the beautiful chapel was consecrated, and daily service begun; and the hospital was open again for only uninfectious cases; and primary native and English schools, all at work. About that time the college servants—cook, butler, and butcher, all for various reasons—determined to leave; one man and his wife to return to Tasmania; another to go on a farm; and after much thought and counsel with his friends the bishop decided to have the work done by the college party, instead of paying exorbitant wages to persons who had no interest in the success of his undertaking. He had seen young officers on board Her Majesty's ships standing daily by while the rations were served out, and keeping strict account of everything, and he tried to infuse a like sense of responsibility into the

minds of his young men that they should do the 'serving of tables' faithfully and cheerfully. Unhappily this was a very unpopular step, and met with little sympathy and approval within or outside the college, though it was only asking the students to do for Christ's sake what every settler in the bush had to do for his own. It was then that he preached a grand sermon at the Tamaki, which his friends used to call 'the sublimation of Carnifex.'

"I well remember listening to a talk of his to a student one morning on the consequences of faithfulness or unfaithfulness in the discharge of his duties as house steward. How it seemed probably a small thing to him to entrust some Maori boy with the keys to give out flour or rice, and yet a little waste each day might in a few months amount to a sum of money which would have enabled the bishop to bring some native child to be taught and trained. Perhaps the young man at the time only received the talk as a 'lecture,' but judging by his faithfulness in an office of trust in after years, the seed bore fruit. The bishop was delighted to get hold of a little book of directions, printed by Colonel Gold, of the 65th Regiment, for the use of his men. After an appeal to the elder men, the drummer-boys were exhorted to step smartly forward for the honour of the 65th. With one of his happy playful turns, he used to call this book the Golden Rules.

"How his eyes used to kindle and his whole face light up with a smile as he read this, for this was the spirit which he desired to infuse into all his workers. And they did respond in a way; but most of them were young and inexperienced, and the college system was little understood, even by older men, whose sons were reaping the benefit of the bishop's self-denying exertions in the cause of education. The notion of English and natives working side by side on equal terms and with common privileges was unpopular, and so was the industrial system, though it alone enabled the larger number of youths of both races to get a sound education.

"For it must be remembered that during all these first years, from 1842 to 1851 or '52, there were no English schools in any of the settlements save day schools, for the poor settlers' sons learned early enough to saddle and ride a horse, and to drive a bullock-waggon, but were

liable to grow up in the ordinary sense uneducated. Nor were the catechists of the C.M.S. able to provide a liberal education for their many sons. Most of these were brought up at St. John's. It was not till 1848 that Mr. Maunsell, stirred by the sight of the college work, began a native boarding school at Waikato Heads. This was followed up by similar schools up the Waikato, and in the south, which were aided by government grants.

"There was, too, afloat a latent dread of Puseyism, and if that subsided, then all that was new was the 'bishop's way.' That some did, however, from the first appreciate the bishop's work may be seen by the endowments given to the college: (1) by a lawyer in Auckland; (2) by a C.M.S. clergyman, in memory of his only son, who had been at St. John's College, Waimate, and tenderly nursed in his last illness by the bishop and Mrs. Selwyn; (3) by a gentleman in Auckland, in memory of his wife.

"The arrival of a large body of military settlers in the provinces at the end of 1847 and in 1848 increased the college work greatly. The government imported several bodies of pensioners, with their families, from England, and planted them in four villages within six to eight miles of St. John's College, without making provision in the way of chaplains, or a salary for such. A good number of the men were Roman Catholics, but the others had to be looked after. A wooden church for Howick was all prepared by the College Corporation at St. John's, and the college carts took the framework over, and at the bishop's expense the building was put up; and before the end of 1848 he had pretty little wooden churches open for the use of the pensioners at Panmuir, three miles; Otahuhu, five, and Onehunga, six miles from the college; and all served every Sunday by deacons resident at St. John's. In all weathers the bishop and his young clergy went a-foot through mud and mire to their different posts, he always taking the hardest part of the work and the largest number of services. One by one they dropped in between seven and eight in the evening, and after High tea, the whole party used to gather into the chapel for what was always called the Unity Service.

"It was a happy ending to a day certainly not of rest. After 1848 we were used to see dark-faced Melanesian

youths among the crowded ranks of English and Maori boys of all ages. The bishop's letters have shown how, on his visit to the Chatham Islands and to the whaling stations, his heart was sad when he saw boys and girls growing up nominally Christian, but in entire ignorance, and so lapsing into heathen ways; and how he longed to crowd his little vessel to overflowing with these stray lambs. He was very happy and hopeful when a native girls' school was built and opened on ground near to Auckland, given in part by the government.

"This institution was under the care of the Rev. G. A. Kissling, of the C.M.S., and his wife; and his face would beam with satisfaction at the prospect of suitable wives being trained there for his native teachers. Several marriages did take place, the old tribal feeling being overcome after some difficulty; the faithful Rota Waitoa, who had risen step by step from being a bare-footed lad in a blanket, with a pack on his back, up to a well-dressed house-steward and a schoolmaster, to the diaconate, and after some years to the priesthood, chose an excellent helpmate from St. Stephen's. The weddings were always held at the college, and the young couples generally settled down there in the bishop's house, which had wonderful powers of expansion.

"Then came the '*Annus Mirabilis*,' as our dear friend used to call 1850, when Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Abraham came out to work at the college. Mr. Lloyd learned Maori readily, and won the boys' hearts. The college worked on under difficulties, but successfully, until 1853, when it was necessary to disperse the school for a time: before it could be reassembled, the clergyman at S. Paul's, Auckland, died, and Mr. Lloyd took his place. The native side of the work was never resumed at S. John's, for industrial schools on the same principles were now at work in several parts of the islands where boys could be fed and taught at half the expense.

"It was grand and thankworthy to walk through the fields which he had sown, amid trees which he had planted, towards a church which he had built, and filled with scholars whom he had reared, whose mouths he had fed, whose bodies he had clothed, whose minds he had taught, that they might do the same for others after them, by the

labour of his own head and hands, and all through a vast amount of opposition and lack of sympathy."

Yet another letter, which falls within the limits of this year, serves as a mirror in which to reflect the bishop's labours and manner of life. It was written to a friend in England by a competent witness:—

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND,
August 11*th*, 1851.

"I may suppose you to be pretty well acquainted with the locality of the college from the bishop's letters which have been published. When new comers arrive at Auckland and ask for the bishop's *palace*, I own it is very amusing to watch their faces as I point to a dingy scoria building, with four windows in front, and the same at the back, at which may be seen, however, some right cheerful-looking Maori faces, and sundry English figures; for this small house of eight rooms is cramfull of married men and women, and boys of several ages. I say it is very amusing to watch the faces of the persons inquiring—and I can pretty well tell now the animus of the visitor by his expression of countenance on seeing the *palace*. One man's eye brightens up as he says: 'Well, this is more like the exterior appendages of an apostolic bishop;' another says (but not to me): 'It is a beggarly hole;' and so on. But it is a curious fact that the people who in England railed at bishops for their luxurious mode of living are here rather offended at ours for his utter disregard of personal comfort and show, though he is as *soigné* and particular as any one about the church's ornaments, or, indeed, his own house, such as it is. I mean that he combines simplicity and neatness, and shows as much taste in the order and arrangements of his humble and straitened cabin or study as any captain of a man-of-war, or member of the Roxburgh Club.

"Would you like to spend a day with us while the bishop is here? (which is seldom enough); well, then, you would come to morning service at seven, and see issuing from three different buildings lines of mixed English and Maori lads streaming to the pretty little wooden chapel. There are settlers in our neighbourhood that say they like to

come to our chapel, 'for it is more like England than anything in the country.' In fact, it is almost the only ecclesiastical-looking building, I believe, in the country, and Mr. Waile's painted glass at the east end gives it a 'home look' of antiquity and sacred association very different from the generality of buildings here.

"The bishop reads the service half in Maori, half in English; an English scholar reads the First Lesson; a Maori scholar reads the Second Lesson. At nine o'clock school begins. The bishop only takes Scripture classes, and has them in chapel. First comes a class of Maori lads and men, who are separated into the baptized and the confirmed; one set usually come one day; the other another day. The teaching is very graphic and lively. The Maori mind cannot take in anything abstract; everything is taught by illustration.

"I don't know that I can better describe his mode of teaching the young, or of warning the elder, than by telling you of a visit I paid with him to the chief in the neighbourhood, who will not become a Christian because he has two wives, and he must give up one. 'Are you not thinking of becoming one of us?' says the bishop. 'Yes, perhaps,' said the chief. There the *conversation* dropped; but I saw the bishop hold up two fingers, and then bend down one. The chief nodded assent. At the time I did not understand it, and I said to the bishop afterwards, 'What was that symbolical communication you held with him, which he seemed to take in so readily?' and then he told me that the chief had two wives and must put down one.

"I have learnt the character of many of the boys by watching the questions he puts to them. I heard him single out one boy in rather a marked way (when reading of Samuel) to ask him what sort of men *Eli's* sons were. The boy hung down his head and gave no answer. The others looked hard at him. I found he was the rather unworthy son of a worthy father.

"The great value of his teaching, however, is his wonderful perception of the capacity of the pupil, and his thought-building, if I may so call it. He lays the foundation of his teaching so admirably. It is like building stone upon stone. You never see a huge dome or cupola of iron on a

weak wooden framework. The point he wants to instil does not come out till the end of the lesson, and perhaps the actual thing to be brought out does not occupy five minutes of the lesson—all the rest of the hour he has been gradually building up to that point. The Maoris delight in it. 'It is so *Light*like,' they say—so clear, that is.

"After an hour or so with these natives, you would see some of the Melanesians come in. They have only been with us a few months, and yet they have managed to pick up words and ideas that make us very hopeful of being able to make them native teachers for their own people some day. . . .

"It was rather trying to one's nerves, however gratifying to one's mind, to hear the following illustration or explanation come out. The bishop was trying to teach them that bad words and lying were wrong. He could not make out whether or no he had made himself clear, when the biggest boy left no doubt on our minds by retailing some words which they had learned on board ship:—'Does God love boys,' said the bishop, 'who do something, and say they have not done it?' 'No; *gammon* no good,' was the quaint reply. And indeed their keen moral sense in matters of truth and honesty is very *exemplary*. I use the word advisedly. They are positively an example to both English and Maori boys in matters of this kind.

"When these have spent an hour with the bishop, in come some English scholars, of twenty or thereabouts, and with them the principle of teaching is the same, though the matter is higher. Words and passages in the Greek Testament, teaching and illustrating the Love of God, or the Power of God, Redemption, Sanctification, &c. These are most carefully analysed, and the principles of language worked out at the same time that a vast deal of collateral instruction is given by catechising. I mean the bishop always works on the Socratic plan of extracting the knowledge of the pupil, and making him teach himself. He does not play at 'perch-fishing in Virginia Water,' as George the 4th did; that is to say, he does not put in the perch one minute, and pull it out the next; but he stocks his fish-pond, and lets it

reproduce, and then goes a-fishing; or he gives them the flour and expects a loaf of bread.

"Another hour or two is occupied with the highest class —the candidates for Holy Orders—and a like process carried on.

"The bishop is specially a man whose knowledge is self-wrought and applied. '*Cave hominem unius libri*' is fully exemplified in him. He knows the Bible thoroughly, and the only other book he seems to know well is Pearson on the Creed. With these two he seems to master every subject.

"But let us go on with our day. A dinner in hall at two o'clock is of the simplest, yet most substantial kind, and is attended by the whole college. The bishop by this means is able to offer chance hospitality without pressing hard on his limited resources.

"If business permits, after dinner we may start off round the college to see the working departments. There is not one of these which he is not well able to superintend. If he had not been a good bishop he might have made a capital farmer, or a good carpenter, or a weaver, or a printer,—all of these works are going on with our English and native lads, and I need hardly say that he still more understands seamanship and navigation. He is, in fact, a first-rate officer. I was asking a common sailor the other day about the different vessels that leave this port, and their captains, and who he had sailed with; and then I said, 'Who would you prefer sailing under out of this port?' He immediately said, 'Well, I had as leave go with the bishop as any man,' evidently looking at him merely on the *sailor* side of his character.

"It was a glorious sight the day the new mission ship (the *Border Maid*) first left her moorings near the college. All the boys were on board, and Champion, her captain, was piloting her up to Auckland, the bishop at the helm. 'Luff, my lord.' 'Luff it is.' With him it is no playing at seamanship, but downwright hard work. He knows where every store is, and every rope; he keeps his watches regularly, indeed, much more regularly than any captain of a ship, who never keeps watch on deck except in bad weather. He takes the sights, teaches the oldest sailor and the youngest boy. Every person and every-

thing comes under his eye and care. And then his sermons on board ship, under the open eye of heaven, are so grand and sublime. Only fancy how this *told* the other day. There was a man-of-war in harbour which had been to the Northern Islands in his company last year, and he went on Sunday before he went off the other day, and held divine service on board. He took with him our four Melanesian boys, and the Gospel for the day was the 14th chapter of St. Luke (2nd Sunday after Trinity). You could see by the rapt attention of the sailors how they took in every word he said about those that were picked up in by-lanes of the city. Doubtless their thoughts flew to Rotherhithe and Wapping; and he contrasted the advantages of their orderly and disciplined life on board ship with their careless life on shore; and then he spoke of the hedges and highways of the ocean, and pointed to the black boys who had come to us originally from on board a man-of-war; and he told them how good a training for the Christian life we had found the order of a ship had been to these boys; how the regular habits on board this vessel had prepared the minds of these boys for subjection to a higher discipline and training for immortality.

"The sailors seemed to be thankful to know that they had in their way, by example, been of service in the good cause. They were so extremely fond of these black boys, and when they were sick or sorry, they used to take such care of them.

"I have never seen the bishop's mode of dealing with the Melanesians in their own islands, but I fancy the way he wins their hearts at first is by his innate humour, combined with thorough fearlessness, and above all, of course, a constraining love of souls for whom Christ died. They seem to know instinctively, like dogs and children, that he loves them, and means their good. At one savage place he was eyed suspiciously at first; but he brought forward one of his own little boys he was bringing back to one of the islands, and pointing to the lantern jaws of a little native of the island, and then pulling out the fat cheeks of our little fellow, he made them understand that he would do the same for any of their children they would let him take. When they saw him poking his fingers

into the hollows of one's cheeks, and pulling out the fat of the other, they danced and shouted with joy at the fun, and would have let him carry off dozens.

"I will give one specimen of his sermon to the Maoris, and one to our English fellow-countrymen on the Californian money-mania, and end my tale. The Maoris are, I am sorry to say, falling back, many of them, to heathenish practices. This was very much the case in one tribe; so the bishop preached on Saul, and without pointing or explaining the application to them, it was very striking to see how they caught it all, and fitted the cap. The warrior Saul brought into immediate contact with Divine truth, admired for his prowess in arms, having Samuel for his guide and adviser, rebelling against him and God, gradually leaving the service of the true God, betaking himself to sorceries and witches. It was just what they are and do; and they saw its application exactly. Parable and history supply all his religious teaching, and fables and proverbs all his moral.

"What a description is this of the soul which is cut off from Christ! A ship driven from its anchor, by which it held to the rock, tossed by the raging waves, and unable to bear up into the wind, with devils howling for joy amid the storm, 'Let her drive!' It is a true account of all who have lost their hold of Christ. 'Let her drive!' To them neither sun nor stars appear; no small tempest lies upon them. 'Who will deny that the manifold changes of the world were never more manifest than at the present time. All human powers alike are proved to be unstable as water. A torrent of unruly wills is sweeping away everything before it, and when it has done its work of destruction it is itself overwhelmed by the next wave that follows it. And in the midst of this wild and frenzied fever of the world, as if in mockery of human madness, Satan opens out his last remaining lure. When all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them have been seen to be worthless, he points to the rivers which flow with golden sands. Now in the last ages of the world he reveals his hidden treasures as fuel for the fire he has himself kindled upon earth. Lest nations should be too poor to war, he first inflames their passions, and then supplies them with the means. And then he who has roused the storm looks

on with his own cry of joy at the sight of the vessel hastening to destruction. 'Let her drive!' he seems to say with bitter scorn; 'gold is no longer needed for the thrones and the crowns of kings; cast it into the midst for the multitude to quarrel for.'

"You may well imagine the feelings called forth by this stirring appeal. I hope many have been warned against going to California and Bathurst for gold. Some that did go write back to their friends, and remember this sermon now it is too late.

"But apart from its intrinsic worth, I thought it was so characteristic of our bishop's nautical tastes and habits."

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